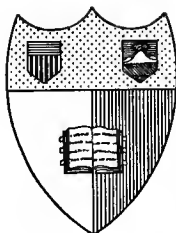


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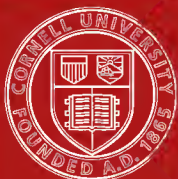
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DECEPTION IN PLAUTUS

A STUDY IN THE
TECHNIQUE OF ROMAN COMEDY

A DISSERTATION

*Presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy*

BY

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BOSTON

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THE GORHAM PRESS

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A493740

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The Gorham Press, Boston, U. S. A.

INTRODUCTION

From the time of Ritschl's critical work upon the comedies of Plautus (1848) to the present, one of the chief desires of students of Plautus has been to solve the problem of the Plautine and un-Plautine elements in the comedies. The existence of un-Plautine elements is quite evident from the clear traces of revision which the parallel versions in the manuscripts show. Very little comparative study of all the plays has been made, combining minute internal analysis of the plot of each play and a study of all its features, internal as well as external, with a comparison of similar features in the other plays; for as Langen pointed out,¹ too often the conclusions as to Plautine technique have been drawn from the minute analysis of single plays, instead of from such comparative studies.

It is because we feel that such a study can make a definite contribution to the solution of the problem of the Plautinity of the plays that we have undertaken it. For this purpose even a very cursory reading of the plays suggested the element of deception as one occurring in a sufficient number of the comedies to serve as a basis for

¹ *Plautinische Studien*, Preface.

the study. Moreover the prominence of that element in many of the comedies is striking.

An analysis, then, of the comedies from the point of view of the plot of deception, with a consideration of the general situation within that plot, of the characters involved in it, both the tricksters and the persons tricked and the assistants engaged to carry out the stratagems, of the object and nature of the deception, will, at least, be worth while for a surer appreciation of Plautus himself. A study of the technique of the plot of deception, the methods employed in carrying it out, and the interrelation of the plans laid for the trickery and the execution of those plans, naturally involves a study of the Greek originals of Plautus.

It is hoped that this investigation will help to determine whether it is true of this device, as of anagnorisis, that it "does not seem that a single element essential to an intrigue, a single feature of the physiognomy of a character is thoroughly, necessarily, irreducibly Roman."²

At least it is hoped that some light may be thrown upon Plautus' relation to his sources, the use that he made of those sources, and the fate of his plays at the hands of those who presented them in later times.

² Legrand: *Daos*, p. 53.

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DECEPTION IN PLAUTUS

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CHAPTER I

THE PROMINENCE OF DECEPTION AS AN ELEMENT IN THE COMEDIES OF PLAUTUS

BEFORE entering upon a detailed examination of the comedies of Plautus in order to study minutely the elements which make up the feature of deception it is necessary to state a fact which is evident from even the most cursory reading of the plays, namely, that deception appears in varying degrees of importance. In that respect the plays fall into three groups :

- (1) Those in which deception is the chief interest
- (2) Those in which deception is an important but not the chief feature
- (3) Those in which deception is almost or entirely lacking.

From the broadest point of view

Class I would include the *Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Captivi*, *Casina*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Mercator*, *Miles*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*,

Capt. vv.39ff. Huius illic, hic illius hodie fert
 imaginem.
 Et hic hodie expediet hanc docte
 fallaciam
 Et suom erum faciet libertatis
 compotem:

Here master and slave have exchanged rôles for purposes of deception.

Cas. vv.50f. Nunc sibi uterque contra legiones
 parat
 Paterque filiusque clam alter
 alterum.

v.277 Ly. . . . subolet hoc iam uxori,
 quod ego machinor:

v.301 Cha. . . machinare quidlubet
 quouis modo.

Here the two rivals for Casina's affection endeavour to outwit each other.

Curc. vv.329ff. The entire act wherein the parasite Curculio relates how he cheated the soldier of his ring at gambling and prepares for the subsequent deceit.

Curc. vv.369f. Tu tabellas consignato, hic
 ministrabit, ego edam.
 Dicam quem ad modum conscribas. . . .

Epid. vv.141f., vv.151f. and
 Merc. vv.331ff., vv.485f.

show the pretense and counter-pretense between Demipho and his son Charinus in their desire to gain possession of the *ancilla*. A need for such planning and determination to gain their ends by deceit is indicated in the play.

Miles vv.147, 153, 237 contain definite announcement of trickery.

Most. vv.427f. Tranio meets all the difficulties which confront him throughout the play, as he does the first one, by deceit.

Persa vv.148f. The *leno* is the butt of the plans of the slave in the Persa as v.52 *dum excoxero lenoni* †*malam* indicates.

Poen. v.193; vv.200f. Careful planning is resorted to in the Poenulus.

Pseud. v.19; vv.109f. Pseudolus puts all his powers of invention at the disposal of his master.

Trin. Up to Act III 3 there is no trickery in the play, but a mere family plot: a young man betrothing his sister to a friend. The desire of the girl's guardian to provide a dowry for her from a hidden treasure belonging to her father, without revealing either to the girl or to her brother the source of the money, leads to the plan which in vv.765ff. is outlined and attempted, but is thwarted by the unexpected return of the father himself.

In each of these thirteen plays, therefore, some character voices his express intention of playing some trick or of forming some plan to the undoing of some other character. In other words, the trickery is the result of conscious purpose on the

part of the trickster. This is also true of the *Amphitruo*; for the play, though it differs from the other plays in tone and character and in the plane upon which the action takes place, is still an exposition of the intentional deception on the part of Jupiter against *Amphitruo*,

v.115 Sed ita adsimulauit se quasi *Amphitruo*
siet.

Jupiter becomes the intriguing human lover and Mercury the tricky slave.

In the *Menaechmi* is found a somewhat similar theme in the confusion between the identity of the twin brothers, when the brother from Syracuse arrives in Epidamnus, in search of his long-lost brother.

vv.69ff. Nunc ille geminus qui Syracusis habet
Hodie in Epidamnus uenit cum seruo
suo
Hunc quaeritatum geminum germanum
suom.

But the subsequent misunderstandings are the result of accident, i. e. the deception is not the result of conscious effort but of circumstance.

In both the *Amphitruo* and the *Menaechmi*, then, there is, apart from the pathetic interest, (cf. the *Captivi* and the *Rudens*) the comic interest centering in the deception. From the spectators' point of view, all the plays having anagnorisis possess the same kind of interest,

since the spectators know (when they have been told!) that certain characters are deceived as to each other's identity,—a sort of unconscious personation. But the interest, at least in the *Menaechmi*, is of a different sort from that in the other plays of Class 1.

To some extent deception enters into the plot of the plays of Class 2, but as has been indicated, it is not in them the chief interest and has no intimate connection with the main object,—the securing of the girl. In the *Rudens* the trickery, within the play, comes into the scene about the *rudens* where Labrax endeavours to fool Gripus; also in vv. 938ff., between Gripus and Trachalio. The *Cistellaria* and the *Vidularia* are plays ending in an anagnorisis, but both are too fragmentary to afford material for study. In the *Truculentus* the deception entered into by the *meretrix*, that the borrowed child is hers and her lover's, is of secondary importance to the plot.

Of the two plays in Class 3, the *Aulularia* contains trickery to a slight degree. Strobilus determines to outwit Euclio, where the latter attempts to conceal the *aula*,

vv.661f. Emortuom ego me mauelim leto male
Quam non ego illi dem hodie insidias
seni.

The completeness of the plot of the *Stichus* has been questioned.³ But whatever the original

³ Leo: G. G. N: 1902, pp.375ff.; Plant. Forsch. pp.168f.; Langen: Plautinische Studien, pp.213ff.; Teuffel: Studien und Charakteristiken, pp.340ff.; Legrand: Daos, p.377; 380.

plot may have been, in its present form at least it contains no elements of trickery.

Of the nineteen plays, therefore, which are complete, we find that all but the *Stichus* contain trickery of some kind or other, employed for various reasons, either intentionally or unintentionally. An examination of the nature of that deception will necessarily throw some light upon Plautus' methods in using that feature so generally in his plots.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF THE BACCHIDES AND COMPARISON OF THE COMEDIES

INASMUCH as the *Bacchides* contains a large amount of trickery and is in other respects typical of the plays of Plautus,¹ we have selected it as a norm and basis of comparison in the examination of the various elements which enter into deception in the plays. An analysis of it, then, and a classification of the various features found in it will supply a means of testing the other comedies. The resulting resemblances and similarities will serve to bring about a clearer understanding of the technique of Plautus; or if variations and dissimilarities appear more numerous than resemblances it may still be possible to determine whether the method of the poet was haphazard or purposely varied.

The essential features may be grouped under the following headings:

- A. General Situation
- B. Characters,—especially the trickster and his assistants
- C. Object and Nature of deception

¹ cf. F. Leo: *Der Monolog in Drama*, *Abhandl. d. Königl. Gesell. Gött.* 1908, N. F. X No. 5, p.55. ♀

Analysis of the Bacchides:

The object of the trickery in this play is to secure money to free a *meretrix* from the claims of a soldier,

v.46 Nam si haec habeat aurum quod illi remuneret,

and v.44 Vt reuehatur domum, cf. also

v.104 Vt hic iccipias potius aurum quam hinc eas cum milite.

This state of affairs is outlined in Act I 1, where the Bacchides, sisters and *meretrices*, v.39, enlist the sympathies of Pistoclerus, a youth, to free one of them from a soldier, vv. 44f. above, who has paid for her services but who will be willing to release her if money is found to repay him, v.46 above. He will appear soon,

v.47 Iam hic, credo, aderit,

hence the need of immediate action. Incidentally the *miles* will not suspect Pistoclerus as he will take him for a lover of the sister,²

v.61 Et ille adueniens tuam med esse amicam suspicabitur.

After some apparent hesitation, Pistoclerus consents,

2 cf. Terence: Heauton Timorumenos, vv.332f.

v.93 Tuos sum, tibi dedo operam.

That he is working in the interests of a friend and not in his own is clear from

v.60 Tu prohibebis et eadem opera tuo sodali
operam dabis
and from v.103 Tibi nunc operam dabo de
Mnesilocho, soror,

where the name of the friend is given. That Pistoclerus may himself, however, be involved is hinted in his reply to the rebukes of his *paedagogus* Lydus, v.138, in the following scene.

v.145 Ly. Tu amicam habebis? Pi. Quom
videbis, tum scies.

Except for the statement of the situation arising from Pistoclerus' efforts in his friend's behalf the scene has no connection with the trickery.

Chrysalus' monologue, which follows,⁸ serves to give the connection between the three principal characters of the play, Mnesilochus, Pistoclerus and Bacchis,

vv.175ff. . . . sodalem
Mnesilochi Pistoclerum, quem ad epis-
tulam
Mnesilochus misit super amica Bac-
chide,

⁸ Leo: Der Monolog, op. cit. p.49.

and to state the absence of Mnesilochus, attended by Chrysalus, from Athens for the past two years,

vv.170f. biennio
Postquam hinc in Ephesum abii.

In Act II 2, Chrysalus meets Pistoclerus who is just coming out of the Bacchides' house, v.204. Replying to Chrysalus' query as to his success in finding the lost *amica* of his friend

vv.191 Quia, si illa inuentast ualet
195 Sed tu quid factitasti mandatis super?

Pistoclerus explains the state of affairs and the need of money without delay.

vv.220f. Nam istoc fortasse aurost opus. Pi.
Philippeo quidem.
Ch. Atque eo fortasse iam opust. Pi.
Immo etiam prius:

Pistoclerus thereupon enlists the slave's help to get the money. The latter promises to do so,

v.227 ego hic curabo,

and to that end assures Pistoclerus that he will concoct a plan,

v.232 Inde ego hodie aliquam machinabor
machinam;

for the money is at hand and he need only invent some means of appropriating it,

vv.229ff. *Negotium hoc ad me adtinet aurarium.*
Mille et ducentos Philippum attulimus aureos
Epheso, quos hospes debuit nostro seni:
Inde . . . etc.

Meeting Nicobulus, Mnesilochus' father, on the way to the harbour to obtain news of his merchant ship and his son, Chrysalus seizes this opportunity to "fleece" the old man,⁴

v.239 *Extexam ego illum pulcre iam, . . .*

He tells the story of their journey, the attack upon them by a pirate-ship, vv.280ff., the escape back to Ephesus and the depositing of the money there at the shrine, in the care of the *sacerdos*, vv.305ff. But Nicobulus can get it at any time. The old man's reluctance to make a voyage at his time of life,

vv.342f. *Censebam me effugisse a uita marituma*
Ne nauigarem tandem hoc aetatis senex,

⁴ cf. Terence: *Heauton Timorumenos*, vv.329ff.; 470f.; 512f.

indicates his full acceptance of all Chrysalus' statements. Chrysalus' concern as to what will happen

v.358 quom hoc senex rescuiuerit?

in spite of his satisfaction that he has left the field open for Mnesilochus to help himself to the money,

vv.352f. Ita feci, ut auri quantum uellet sumeret,
Quantum autem lubeat reddere, ut reddat patri,

indicates clearly that the whole story is a lie,

v.350 Exorsa haec tela non male omnino mihist.

In other words the first trick, by lying, has succeeded. This is also indicated by Mnesilochus,

v.392 Condigne is quam technam de auro aduorsum meum fecit patrem,

who in a soliloquy, vv.385ff., sums up all the past action,—his commission to Pistoclerus, the efforts of Chrysalus in his behalf, and the final success in obtaining the money.

Lydus, as he had threatened in v.383 . . . et seni faciam palam, now appears bringing Philoxenus, Pistoclerus' father, to the Bacchides' house to reveal to him his son's folly. Mnesilo-

chus overhearing their conversation believes his friend false, vv.477ff. In the soliloquy which follows, vv.500ff., he laments the supposed infidelity of his friend, vows vengeance upon Bacchis, and determines to hand over all the money to his father.

v.516 Decretumst remunerare iam omne aurum
patri.

The opening lines of Act III 6 bring Mnesilochus announcing the accomplishment of his threat, thereby rendering the first trick futile,

v.530 Reddidi patri omne aurum. . . . cf.
v.516.

Meeting his friend Pistoclerus, he berates him for his broken faith in his commission to find Bacchis. But the misunderstanding is cleared up by Pistoclerus' revelation that there are two sisters named Bacchis,

v.568 . . . Duas ergo hic intus eccas Bacchides.

With Act IV 1, the appearance of the parasite of the soldier interested in Bacchis, cf. vv.45f., announcing the imminent arrival of his master,

v.603 Sufflatus ille huc ueniet

renders the need of money again a serious problem,

- vv.606f. In eum nunc haec reuenit res locum,
 ut quid consili
 Dem meo sodali super amica nesciam:
 v.609 Neque nummus ullust qui reddatur
 militi,

especially as the money which might have been used has been handed over to the rightful owner,

- v.608 Qui iratus renumerauit omne aurum patri.

While debating what to do Pistoclerus meets Mnesilochus coming out of Bacchis' house, lamenting his bad luck, especially in so quickly rendering up the much-needed money. His misery is increased by the news of the anticipated arrival of the soldier to get his due,

- v.631 Militis parasitus modo uenerat aurum
 petere hinc:

But there is hope for help again from the crafty slave,

- v.639 . . . Tuam copiam eccam Chrysalum uideo,
 who, rejoicing in the successful outcome of his lie,

- vv.641ff. Nam duplex hodie facinus feci, du-
 plicibus spoliis sum adfectus.
 Erum maiorem meum ut ego hodie
 lusi lepide, ut ludificatust.
 Callidum senem callidis dolis
 Compuli et perpuli, mi omnia ut
 crederet,

finds out upon meeting his young master, vv.670ff., that all his labour has been in vain and that he must again get money from the old man,

vv.691f. . . . Nunc hoc tibi curandumst, Chrysale,
 . . . Vt ad senem etiam alteram facias uiam.

694 Vt senem hodie doctum docte fallas aurumque auferas.

Thereupon Chrysalus plans a second trick. In a letter written by Mnesilochus at Chrysalus' dictation, vv.734ff., the slave issues a warning to the old man to beware of him. Armed with this he starts at once upon the second trick,

v.769 . . . ei tabellas dem in manum.

For his purpose he desires that the old man shall be angry, and the old man is justifiably angry because he has been deceived by Chrysalus, vv.775ff. Nicobulus sarcastically asks Chrysalus how soon he expects him to start on his journey to Ephesus to claim the money deposited there, v.776 cf. vv.306f., and receives the letter of warning from the slave.

In spite of Nicobulus' assurance that "forewarned is forearmed", Chrysalus is confident of getting the money,

vv.805f. Et te dixisti id aurum ablaturum tamen
 Per sycophantiam?

v.824 Numquam auferes hinc aurum. Ch.
Atqui iam dabis.

And he leads the old man to spy upon his son banqueting with the *meretrices*, vv.831ff.

While they are thus engaged, chance helps Chrysalus by the arrival of the soldier, whose remark,

vv.842f. Meamne hic Mnesilochus, Nicobuli
filius
Per uim ut retineat mulierem? . . .

Chrysalus seizes upon to pretend that the *miles* is Bacchis' husband,

v.851. Vir hic est illius mulieris quacum accubat.

As Nicobulus thereupon fears that his son may be involved in a lawsuit for interfering with another man's wife, he agrees to Chrysalus' suggestion to buy off the soldier,

vv.861f. . . . quin tu me exsolui iubes?
Ni. Exsoluite istum,

and the second trick succeeds.

Exultant over his success, Chrysalus decides to start upon a third trial to get more money, which is really a second application of the second trick, since Nicobulus is acting under the misapprehension caused by that. The trick is carried out

again through a letter, vv.997ff., purporting to be from the young man, Mnesilochus, to his father, asking for money,

vv.1025f. Nunc si me fas est obsecrare abs te,
pater,
Da mihi ducentos nummos Philippos,
te obsecro,

which is to be used presumably to settle the claims of the soldier's wife, v.1009. Nicobulus, believing that the girl is the soldier's wife and desiring to help his son get rid of her, is persuaded and gives Chrysalus the money, v.1062, and the trick succeeds.

Philoxenus' monologue, vv.1076ff.,⁵ serves as an introduction to the banquet scene wherein the old men, determined to rescue their sons from the enticements of the *meretrices*, themselves fall a prey to them. They are finally aware that they have been cheated, vv.1125, 1184, 1206, though they are somewhat reconciled by the offer of the return of half of the money,

vv.1185a f. Quid tandem, si dimidium auri
Redditur ?

A. General Situation

The foregoing analysis of the *Bacchides* has shown a youth in love and needing assistance to

⁵ F. Leo: *Der Monolog*, op. cit. p.49.

secure the object of his love. The same general situation appears in no less than eleven other plays :—

Asinaria vv.52f. Equidem scio iam filius quod
amet meus

Istanc meretricem e proxumo
Philaenium

vv.57f. De. Tune es adiutor nunc
amanti filio?

Li. Sum uero, et alter noster
est Leonida.

Miles vv.99f. Erat erus Athenis mihi adu-
lescens optumus

Is amabat meretricem

and the need of the *adulescens* for assistance is implied in the efforts put forth by the *seruos* which he narrates in the prologue, vv.111ff.

Pseudolus vv.35 Tuam amicam uideo, Calidore.

41 Phoenicium Calidoro amatori
suo

78 Nilne adiuvare me audes? . . .

104f. Spero alicunde hodie me bona
opera

Tibi inuenturum esse auxilium
argentarium.

Persa v.1 Qui amans egens ingressus est prin-
ceps in Amoris uias

vv.81ff. Omnem rem inueni, ut sua sibi pe-
cunia

Hodie illam faciat leno libertatem
suam.
Sed eccum parasitum quouis mihi
auxilios opus.

The *Persa* differs from the other plays in that its characters are from a different rank in society, i. e. slaves who enter upon their intrigues during the absence of their master.¹

Epidicus. In this play the transactions involving the *meretrix* are completed before the play begins,

vv.47f. Ipse mandavit mihi ab lenone ut
fidicina
Quam amabat emeretur sibi: id ei im-
petratum reddidi,

but the youth Stratippocles has transferred his affections to another object,

vv.43ff. Quia forma lepida et liberali captivam
adulescentulam
De praeda mercatust.
. . . animi causa.

¹ The same may be said of the *Amphitruo*, though in it the presence of gods engaging in the intrigues of mortals makes it unique. But in the *Persa* the slave and in the *Amphitruo* the god play the usual role of the *adulescens* in love.

a captive in war, and is needing help a second time to extricate himself from the financial difficulties attendant upon the purchase,

Curculio. In this play and in the *Poenulus* the girls have not yet entered the profession of *meretrices*,

vv.46f. Eam uolt meretricem facere: ea me deperit:
Ego autem cum illa facere nolo mutuom.

vv.67ff. Nunc hinc parasitum in Cariam misi
meum
Petitum argentum a meo sodali mutuom:
Quod si non affert, quo me uortam
nescio.

Mercator vv.330ff. The plans of the old man against his son indicate clearly that the youth needs help to retain the girl, and the *senex* needs help to secure her.

vv.70f. Quia patrem prius se conuenire non
uolt neque conspicari,
Quam id argentum quod debetur pro illa
dinumerauerit.

Poenulus vv.96ff. Earum hic adulescens alteram
efflictim perit
Suam sibi cognatam in-

prudens, neque scit quae
 siet,
 Neque eam umquam tetigit:
 ita cum leno macerat:
 vv.163ff. . . . Vin tu illam hodie sine
 dispendio
 Tuo tuam libertam facere?
 Ag. Cupio, Milphio.
 Mi. Ego faciam ut facias.

Rudens. The Rudens has in general the same situation as the Bacchides, etc. Although Plesidippus does not need money or trickery, he is in danger of losing the girl,

vv.42ff. Adulescens quidam ciuis huius Atticus
 Eam uidit ire e ludo fidicinio domum.
 Amare occepit: ad lenonem deuenit,
 Minis triginta sibi puellam destinat
 Datque arrabonem et iure iurando alli-
 gat.
 Is leno, ut se aequomst, flocci non fecit
 fidem
 Neque quod iratus adulescenti dixerat.
 63ff. Conscendit nauem, auehit meretriculas.
 Adulescenti alii narrant ut res gesta
 sit:
 Lenonem abisse. . . .

Mostellaria. In the Mostellaria the only resemblance is that a similar situation has been solved before the play opens, cf. Epidicus.

vv.537ff. Danista adest, qui dedit
 Qui amicast empta quoque
 Manifesta res est, nisi quid occurro
 prius,
 Ne hoc senex resciscat.

The home-coming of the father brings on the complications; but the object of the trickery is not to secure the girl, as she has already been purchased and manumitted.

Casina and Amphitruo. In both these plays we find the same general situation,—a lover needing to employ trickery to secure the object of his love. In the *Casina* the rivalry between a father and son for Casina's affections, cf. *Mercator*,

vv.48f. eam puellam hic senex
 Amat efflictim et item contra filius

necessitates the counter-plots of each against the other, v.50, which are the basis of the action. Inasmuch as Casina is already a member of their household, vv.40ff., a foundling brought up in the family, her position is different from that of the girls concerned in the other plays. Hence also the question of money does not enter into the deception. But the whole action centers in the efforts of the two rivals to outwit each other.

In the *Amphitruo*, as has already been stated, the characters are on a different level from those in the other plays, but the object of the divine lover is the same. And the personation resorted

to by Jupiter, vv.115, 121, is the method by which he secures the object of his desire.²

Twelve of the twenty-one plays, therefore, have the same general situation, and in a thirteenth, the *Mostellaria*, the same problem has already been solved before the play opens. In the *Captivi* and the *Truculentus*, deception is also important, though not for the same purpose. This investigation deals primarily with seventeen plays, excluding the *Aulularia*, *Cistellaria*, *Rudens*, and *Vidularia*.

B.—Characters

The general situation of the *Bacchides* showed that the trickery in the play is undertaken in the interests of an *adulescens* and a *meretrix*, who are accordingly the central figures. Such is the case in nine of the other plays:—*Asinaria*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Mercator*, *Miles*, *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Mostellaria*.¹

In the other plays included in Class 1 different characters hold the center of attention:—

² In Terence's *Phormio*, *Adelphoe*, *Andria* and *Eunuchus*, youths are in a similar situation; in the first two, the plots are made more complex by the presence of two pairs of lovers.

¹ In the *Mostellaria* it should be noted again that the complications which give rise to the need of deception are the result of *Philolaches'* relations with the *meretrix* and precede the action of the play. In the *Persa*, as already noted, the *adulescens* is a *servus*, playing the role of lover. cf. Terence's *Adelphoe*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Phormio*.

Here the trick is played by Tyndarus upon the slave-owner, Hegio, the *senex*. (The general situation is, of course, not the same.)

Epidicus vv.87f. . . . Ego miser perpuli
Meis dolis senem

are the words of the slave Epidicus who, having finished one trick and found his efforts wasted, declares his determination to attack his master a second time, v.163.

Mostellaria v.387 The slave Tranio promises to keep his young master out of his father's clutches.

(2) *Servus* vs. *leno*:

Pseudolus. In reply to his *amica's* letter stating her precarious situation, vv.51ff., Calidorus appeals to his slave Pseudolus to help him find the needed money, v.80, and the slave agrees to do so, vv.104f., directing his efforts against the *leno*, though incidentally the father of Calidorus may be involved, v.120. As the plot develops, Pseudolus proves able to cope with two enemies.³ It should be noted here that this apparent doubling of plot, with the resultant complications and inconsistencies, has been used to prove *contaminatio* in this play.⁴ In this respect of double

³ Lorenz: Pseudolus, ed. Introd. pp.19ff.

⁴ Lorenz: op. cit.; Legrand: Daos, p.384, note 2; (A. Schmitt: De Pseudoli Plautinae exemplo Attico, diss. 1909, p.3ff., against *contaminatio*).

deuteragonist, if we may so call it, this play resembles the *Miles* (cf. below)

Persa v.52 Vsque ero domi, dum excoxero
lenoni malam.

In connection with this play it should be noted that the plot is simplified by the fact that the *servus* is working in his own interests,—i. e., he is both trickster and the person in whose interests the deception is practised. (Such is practically also the case in the *Amphitruo* where Jupiter plays the trickster in his own interests.)

Poenulus vv.168f. show that the slave Milphio is the inventor of the plan of deception against the *leno*. (The *Poenulus* is also considered a "contaminated" play.)

(3) *Servus* vs. other characters:

vs. *mercator* in the *Asinaria*, vv.94f., though the person who suffers the loss is the *matrona*.

vs. *servus* and his master in the *Miles*, vv.145ff.

Here Palaestrio plans the confusion to which he will drive his fellow slave Sceledrus, and in the second part of the play the *miles* himself, vv.767f. This play, because of its double plot, is suspected, like the *Pseudolus*, of being contaminated.⁵

⁵ Lorenz: *Miles Gloriosus*, ed. Introd. p.31f.; Leo: *Plaut. Forsch.*, pp.178f.

Two of the plays, the *Curculio* and *Trinummus*, depart from this norm of the slave as the trickster⁶:

Parasitus vs. *leno*⁷

Curculio vv.65ff., where the lover, *Phaedromus*, asserts his need and the means which he has taken to meet that need. He finds that his assurance is not ill founded, when *Curculio* describes his efforts in his behalf, vv.329ff., and outlines his further plans, v.370.

Senex vs. *adulescens*:

Trinummus vv.763ff., where the two old men conspire to provide the ward of one of them with a dowry. But *Megaronides* employs an agent to carry out his plan, v.765.

It is evident from the comparison of the details just given that the favourite agent of the deception in the comedies is a slave. Although the deception is carried out primarily by this one chief agent, yet in nearly every case the assistance of some other person, or persons, is enlisted, even though that help is not always used after it has been gained.

The mention of these assistants may serve to introduce that class which we call

(1) Friends of the interested persons:

⁶ So too does the *Truculentus*.

⁷ cf. Terence: *Phormio*, in which the leading trickster is a parasite.

Asinaria vv.57f. Demaenetus, the father in the *Asinaria*, starts the slave on his course of deception, vv.57f., but in spite of his desire to help even to the point of willingness to be himself cheated by his slave, v.91, he realizes that he can be of little assistance since his wife controls the purse-strings. It turns out, however, that he is of decided assistance, cf. below.

Epidicus v.291 Quem hominem inueniemus ad
eam rem utilem? Ep. Hic
erit
Optumus:

the slave accepts the old man Apocides as a suitable coadjutor, but intends to deceive him; so Apocides is not a real assistant, as is evident from his narrative of the course of events, vv.411ff. He is a mere passive witness and is himself deceived, and with the words,

v.422 Ei uolo ire aduocatus

and his departure to the forum he disappears from the play.

Pseudolus vv.547f. In similar fashion the help of Callipho is engaged, in the *Pseudolus*, in case it should be needed. But he disappears from the play at the end of this act and has no share in the plot of deception.

Bacchides. Pistoclerus, in the *Bacchides*, is in

fact more active than the usual friend, since in person he carries out his friend's commission of finding his *amica*, vv.389ff. Most of his efforts, however, have been exerted before the action of the play begins, though even within the play he is still busy in his friend's behalf, vv.526ff.

Miles. Periplecomenus, in the Miles, the old friend of Pleusicles, receives the young man into his house, which has the advantage of adjoining that of the *miles*, and thus affords him an opportunity of meeting his *amica* who is detained there, vv.134ff. Later he also connives at a second means of deceiving the *miles* through a trick which requires his more immediate participation, vv.766ff.

Pal. Nunc hoc animum aduortite ambo.
mihi opus est opera tua
Periplecomene: nam ego inueni lepidam
sycophantiam,
Qui admutiletur miles

v.782 Ecquam tu potis reperire forma lepida
mulierem,

vv.792f. adsimuletque se
Tuam esse uxorem:

Mercator. Lysimachus, vv.499ff., shows himself a friend in need by assisting his friend Demipho to gain possession of Pasicompsa, even to the extent of harbouring her in his own house, vv.563ff. And the son Charinus is aided and abetted by his friend Eutyclus, vv.485ff.; vv.588ff.

Trinummus. Megaronides assists his old friend Callicles in planning his simple device, Act III 3, and also hires the *nugator* for him.

(2) Slaves as assistants are found in the *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Casina*, *Mercator*, *Persa*, and *Poenulus*.

Amphitruo. Mercury as a pseudo-*servus* impersonating Sosia, vv.115, 124, puts the real Sosia to rout, Act I 1, vv.295,455, and throughout the play assists Jupiter in carrying out his deception.

Asinaria. At his master's suggestion, Libanus associates his fellow slave with himself in the trickery which he is to carry out in his young master's interests, vv.101f., and Leonida takes a very active part as the pseudo-Saurea,

vv.368f. Te ex Leonida futurum esse atriensem
 Sauream,
 Dum argentum afferat mercator pro
 asinis.

Mercator. In the *Mercator* the young man's interests are furthered by his slave.

Casina. In the *Casina* the father enlists the assistance of his *vilicus*, v.52, the son that of his *armigerus*, v.55, each to pretend that he himself wishes to marry the girl Casina.

Persa. A fellow slave Sagaristio by appropriating his master's money, helps Toxilus first to find the money which he needs, vv.262f., and later takes part in the actual confounding of the *leno*, in the impersonation, vv.459ff.

Poenulus. Milphio's plans, in the Poenulus, include the assistance of the *vilicus* Collabiscus, vv.194f., but his instructions are evidently given off the stage, as he appears in Act III 2 primed for his part, cf. v.578

Iam tenes praecepta in corde? Co. Pulcre.

(3) Hired assistants

A still larger place is filled by those who are hired to carry out some part of the deception. Various characters perform this function.

Fidicina in the Epidicus, vv.314ff.; a *meretrix* in the Miles, vv.870ff.; *advocati* or *testes* in the Poenulus, vv.424, 506; a *syphocanta* in the Pseudolus, Act IV 1, and in the Trinummus, v.815. In the Persa the parasite is persuaded for a consideration to lend his services and those of his daughter, vv.83, 127f., in carrying out the trick against the *leno*; but they can hardly be called hired assistants.

(4) Assistants sent by chance (Τύχη).

In a consideration of this agency it is necessary to distinguish between such appearances in

the plays as that of the *miles* in the Bacchides, too fortuitous⁸ and yet constantly anticipated throughout the first part of the play, cf.

v.58 miles quom ueniat, uolo :

v.76 miles quom huc adueniat, te uolo
Me amplexari.

vv.589ff. . . Me misit miles ad eam Cleomachus,
Vel ut ducentos Philippos reddat
aureos
Vel ut hinc in Elatiam hodie eat
secum semul

where the appearance of the *miles'* parasite, his demand for the money due his master, the refusal of it by Pistoclerus, or rather the confident denial on the part of Pistoclerus that Bacchis will consent to go with the *miles*, prepare the way for the *miles'* appearance in person to enforce his demands, and the entirely unforeseen intervention of Harpax in the Pseudolus or of Hanno in the Poenulus.

This latter sort of chance is the substitution in comedy for the *deus ex machina* of tragedy;⁹ for as Lorenz also points out,¹⁰ this chance, i. e. turn of fortune, goes back to the conception of Euripides: into the place of the Moirai steps Τύχη.¹¹

⁸ Legrand: Daos, p.396.

⁹ Legrand: Daos, p.395.

¹⁰ Lorenz: Pseudolus, ed. Introd. pp.20f.

¹¹ Callidamates in the Mostellaria is a sort of *homo ex machina* in the way in which he settles the difficulties by mollifying the *senex*.

Moreover, this conception is far more comprehensible, because so like everyday practical experience, and hence very suitable to comedy. It is a personal rather than a divine conception of Τύχη and it fits into comedy, especially into comedies like the *Pseudolus* which are so largely a portrayal of the character of the clever trickster; for in seizing the chance-offered solution of the difficulties and using it to his own ends the trickster displays to great advantage his own extraordinary cleverness.

As has been mentioned, such chance-sent assistants are found in the *Poenulus* and *Pseudolus*.

Poenulus. In the *Poenulus* the chance arrival of Hanno acts as an incentive to Milphio for a new trick,

v.1086 Festiuom facinus uenit mihi in mentem
modo

that Hanno should assume the rôle of father of the girls, vv.1099ff., which results in the final anagnorisis.

Pseudolus. *Pseudolus* asserts confidently that he has ready *duplicis triplicis dolos perfidias* for the confounding of the enemy, but the chance arrival of Harpax, Act II 2, causes him to set them all aside,

v.601 Nouo consilio nunc mihi opus est: noua
res haec subito mi objectast

and he makes the personation of Harpax by Simia solve the difficulties in the plot.

Chance may perhaps be said to have brought about the meeting of Curculio with his master's rival, the *miles* in Caria,

v.337 forte aspicio militem

thus giving him the opportunity of obtaining information whereby to serve his master's interests. But in this case the coincidence seems natural and not brought about by the interposition of chance, under desperate circumstances,¹² after all other resources have failed.

In a way, chance may be said to control the action in the *Mostellaria*; for all the deception is improvised to meet the need of the moment.¹³ Tranio, to be sure, like Tyndarus in the *Captivi*, employs no definite assistant. But he seizes upon any help presented, as that afforded by the chance arrival of the *danista*, Act III 1, to make up a lie to serve his ends.

It is evident, therefore, that the trickster in nearly every play marshals forces to assist him in his attack and does not depend entirely upon his own resources. His cleverness is revealed and the complexity of the web of deception in-

¹² Legrand; Daos, p.393f.

¹³ Ritschl: *Opuscula* II p.740.

creased by the resultant involved interworking of plan and action on the part of the trickster himself and his assistants, on the one hand, and his opponents, on the other.

The fact that Tyndarus depends upon his own efforts to carry out the plan of the Captivi and employs no assistants, shows again that that play is unique, though chance plays a large part of the comedy, according to Brix the chief rôle.¹⁴

It should be added that the intervention of chance differs also from the divine aid afforded by various agents in several of the plays, cf. the Lar familiaris, in the Aulularia; Auxilium in the Cistellaria; Arcturus in the Rudens. The gods in these plays have no active part in the development of the plot within the play,¹⁵ as chance has in the others, but the expository prologue is spoken by them, since no character of the plays knows all the facts of which the audience must be informed.

C. *Object and Nature of Deception*

In section II A it has been shown that the situation of a lover needing assistance is the most common one in the plays and that in eight cases, the Asinaria, Bacchides, Curculio, Epidicus, Miles, Persa, Poenulus, and Pseudolus, that assistance is used for the securing of a *meretrix*. This is the ultimate object. But as a means

¹⁴ Brix: Captivi, ed. Introd. p.3 (1910).

¹⁵ Arcturus, for example, causes the storm which prevents the *leno* from deceiving Plesidippus.

to the attainment of that ultimate end in no less than six plays an immediate object exists,—money, upon which the trickery and therefore a large part of the comic interest is concentrated.¹

Bacchides. The immediate object of the Bacchides has been noted, i. e. to get money;

- v.46 Nam si haec habeat aurum quod illi
 renumeret, faciat lubens.
vv.103f. Meus ille quidemst. tibi nunc operam
 dabo de Mnesilocho, soror.
 Vt hic accipias potius aurum quam
 hinc eas cum milite

with the secondary purpose of paying off the claims of the soldier, as indicated in these same citations.

In three of the plays, Curculio, Epidicus, Pseudolus, the object is to get money to purchase the *meretrix* outright.

Curculio. The *meretrix* is to be bought in order to free her for her lover's sake,

- vv.208f. Ita me Venus amet, ut ego te hoc tri-
 duom numquam sinam
 In domo esse istac, quin ego te
 liberalem liberem.

¹ cf. Terence: Phormio and Heauton Timorumenos.

Epidicus. Twice money must be secured for the purchase of the objects of Stratippocles' fancy, since that fancy is transferred from one love to another,

v.135 Illam amabam olim: nunc iam alia cura
impendet pectori.

The first transaction has, however, preceded the action of the play, vv.47ff. The second is the immediate object of the deception within the play, 43f., 114f.

Pseudolus. The immediate object is stated in

v.50 Quam subito argento mi usus inuento siet

and in the *amica's* letter from which Calidorus learns of the desperate straits in which she is and the imminent purchase of her by a *miles* unless he can come to the rescue.²

Persa. In the Persa together with the need to get money to free his *amica*,

vv.33f. Haec de summa hodiest, mea amica
sitne libera
An sempiternam seruitutem seruiat

is the object of robbing the *leno* of the money after he gets it,

² Phaedria's plight in Terence's *Phormio* is similar.

vv.325f. Nam iam omneis sycophantias instruxi
et comparaui,
Quo pacto ab lenone auferam hoc
argentum

Asinaria. The money in this play is to be used to purchase the services of the *meretrix* for one year,

vv.103f. Perficito argentum hodie ut habeat
filius,
Amicae quod det.

vv.229f. . . . dic, quid me aequom censes pro
illa tibi dare
Annum hunc ne cum quiquam alio
sit?

To free a *meretrix* by other means than money is the object of the Miles and the Poenulus.

Miles. The assertion of the *amica* that she desires to get away from the power of the *miles*

v.126. Ait sese Athenas fugere cupere ex hac
domu:

starts Palaestrio upon his work of rescue.

Poenulus. For the purpose of outwitting the *leno* and cheating him out of money and his property, in the person of the girl, Agorastocles and his slave Milphio lay their plans in this play,

- vv.153ff. Amo immodeste
 At ego hanc uicinam dico Adel-
 phasium meam
 Lenonis huius meretricem maiusculam.
- vv.168f. Totum lenonem tibi cum tota familia
 Dabo hodie dono.

Hence the plan to free the girl. Agorastocles has apparently plenty of money and therefore does not need, so far as it is concerned, to cheat the *leno*. But the comic effect of the play is increased by this ruse, hence its inclusion.

In the other plays the ultimate and the immediate object are in general identical. In the *Mostellaria*, however, the object of the deception changes as the action proceeds. In fact the trickery has no substantial object. It is all directed as a temporary expedient toward temporary results. The need for money exists before the play opens, i. e. to pay off the loan given by the *danista*,

- vv.626f. Quod illuc argentumst? Est — huic
 debet Philolaches
 Paulum.

But this need is only coincident with the primary necessity which is the motive of the deception, i. e. preventing the old man's discovery of his son's follies during his own absence from home by keeping him out of his own house, vv.389ff.

Let us consider briefly the object of the trickery in the other plays. In the *Amphitruo*, the immediate and ultimate objects are identical,—the securing of the beloved object, transferred as already noted in section II A to a different plane, with Alcumena taking the place of the *meretrix* of the other plays, unwittingly, however, cf. vv.115ff., 121, 124, 464ff. To that end Jupiter becomes an intriguing *adulescens* and Mercury a *servus*.

In the *Casina* and the *Mercator* the ultimate object is similar. Moreover it should be noted that in all three of these plays the deception concerns that ultimate object, with the result of a more simple and more direct plot. A similar purpose is the basis of the action of the *Rudens*, which starts with the shipwreck of the *leno*, while on his way to Sicily, whither he is taking in his charge the girl beloved by Plesidippus, who is eager to rescue her from the other's power. Arcturus lends the most effective assistance. Deception hardly enters into the solution of the plot, which is facilitated by an anagnorisis.

There remain then for consideration the *Captivi*, *Menaechmi*, *Trinummus*, and *Truculentus*. Since the deception in the *Menaechmi*, as has been pointed out above, results merely from the confusion in identity of the twin brothers, that also lacks purpose and because of this fact need merely be mentioned here.

In the *Captivi* the purpose of the exchange of rôles between master and slave is to secure the freedom of the former, vv.39ff.

In the *Trinummus*, as has already been stated, the purpose is to provide the young ward with a dowry.

In the *Truculentus*, the *meretrix* Phronesium, vv.18ff., practises her deception, in fooling Diniarchus, to enrich herself at the expense of the *miles*. The latter is also deceived by her.

Summing up then, we find that the chief object of the trickery, and the ultimate one, is the securing of l'objet aimé, usually a *meretrix*, occurring in thirteen of the plays,—*Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Miles*, *Mostellaria*, *Pseudolus*, *Persa*, *Amphitruo*, *Epidicus*, *Curculio*, *Poenulus*, *Casina*, *Mercator*, *Rudens*. The immediate object of the deception is in six cases money,—*Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Pseudolus*, *Persa*; while in the *Miles* and the *Poenulus* other means than money are used for the freeing of the *meretrix*, as also in *Casina*, *Mercator*, and *Rudens*. In the other plays the interests involved in the stratagems of the trickster vary.

From all three points of view from which we have thus far considered the comedies of Plautus, the similarity of plot is apparent. The general situation is the same in at least ten³ of the plays, cf. II A, youths needing assistance in *affaires de coeur*. Moreover, if the category of lovers is extended to include *senes* as well as *adulcentes*, *deus* as well as *homo*, three more plays may be added to that list, *Amphitruo*, *Casina*, *Mercator*. The same character, a slave,

³ Not counting the plays which are without important trickery.

carries out the deception in nearly all the plays, though the character against whom the stragem is directed varies,—a *senex*, a *leno*, a fellow-slave, etc. The assistants engaged to carry out the deception also vary, as does the extent of the help which is contributed by them. As assistants slaves are the favourites, fellow-slaves of the *doli architectus*. The influence upon the course of the action exerted by chance, Τύχη, should also be recalled.

The plays accordingly are very much alike. In fact it would almost seem as if Plautus used the same stock scenes and motives for his plays, varying them only in the method of combination and in the addition of extraneous details. Plautus recognized the delight which his audience felt in seeing somebody fooled or acting under a misapprehension of some kind, as in the *Menaechmi*, and he catered to this taste. There are many possibilities of permutation and combination in the details connected with such a plot of deception, and Plautus seems to have realized them all. How he utilized them will be more apparent from the following study of the interrelation of plan and action in the plays.

CHAPTER III

TECHNIQUE OF DECEPTION

A. Methods

GIVEN the general situation, with the interests of various characters at stake, and those characters by the help of various assistants attaining their ends through deception, varied in nature and object, it still remains for us to consider, by a detailed study of the comedies, the methods used to carry out that deception. Such an investigation will include the clearness and definiteness of the planning and execution of those methods; and should such investigation reveal great uniformity in methods and plans, the study of any unique details which the several plays may present. All three of these considerations rest primarily upon an analysis of the technique of the plays.

I. Lies

Deception generally involves lying, and so it is not surprising to find lies constantly employed in all the plays except the *Menaechmi*, in which, as we have already noted, the confusion arises from unconscious deception. Some differentiation must be made, however, between those plays in

which lies are the chief basis of the trickery, as in the *Bacchides*, and those in which they are incidental, and are, as in the *Miles*, additional means in the execution of the trickery. To the first class belong the *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Truculentus*. All the rest of the plays, of course, come under the second category.

Bacchides. In the *Bacchides* we have seen that the deception depends first upon the tale of the pirate ship, vv.277ff., by which Chrysalus enables his young master to help himself, at will, to his father's money; secondly, the same slave, having led Nicobulus to spy upon his son banqueting with the *meretrices*, seizes upon the *miles*, who has opportunely arrived, to worry the father still more by the statement that he is the husband of his son's *amica*.

v.851. Vir hic est illius mulieris quacum accubat.

Epidicus. In the *Epidicus* it is impossible to cite only a few lines illustrative of the point under discussion, as lying is practically the basis of all the trickery in the play. A reference to the analysis of the play in the following section will bear out this statement.

Mostellaria. As in the *Epidicus*, just mentioned, lying is the basis of all the deception in this play, though because of the greater simplicity of the plot it is easier to indicate the three lies which contribute to the carrying out of the plot:

(1) The tale of the ghost haunting the house,
vv.475ff., acknowledged by Tranio to be a lie,

v.510 Illisce hodie hanc conturbabunt fabulam.

(2) The pretended purchase of the neighbouring house,

vv.637f. Aedis filius
Tuos emit.

cf. v.665 Calidum hercle esse audiui optimum
mendacium

(3) The pretended purpose of Theopropides to build a *gynaecium*, whereby Tranio deceives Simo,

vv.754f. sed senex
Gynaecium aedificare uolt hic

Persa. In the Persa the lies are coincident with the personation which will be considered below, so they need no special mention here.

Truculentus

vv.85ff. . . . eo nunc commentast dolum:
Peperisse simulat sese, ut me extrudat
foras:
Eum esse simulat militem puero
patrem:

Here pretense and lies combine. Inasmuch as this is the only feature of deception in the

play, and, as has been noted above, deception is not the chief interest, we may pass over the play with this mere statement.

Lies occur in other plays;—in the *Trinummus*, Stasimus lies about the farm; in the *Captivi*, Tyndarus, upon the arrival of Aristophontes, is driven to some new *astutia*, v.539, in order to extricate himself, and so to bring discredit upon his statements asserts that his accuser is mad, vv.547f. Lies are all the more convenient to aid in the deception when the gullibility of the *senes* in the plays is taken into consideration,—that gullibility which is one of the characteristic traits of the old man as portrayed by Plautus.

2. Personation

This is the assumption by a character of a rôle not his own, and it is only an elaborate acting of a lie; it is the favourite method of deception used by Plautus. Ten¹ of the plays present this feature:—*Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Miles*, *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Trinummus*.²

Asinaria

vv.367ff. Nunc tu abi ad forum ad erum et narra haec ut nos acturi sumus:

¹ In addition deception resulting from unconscious personation of a similar kind is found in the *Bacchides*, *Casina*, *Mercator*, *Truculentus*. cf. Terence: *Eunuchus*, Act II 3; *Phormio*, Act I 2.

² cf. *Rudens*, vv.1035ff.

Te ex Leonida futurum esse atriensem
 Sauream,
 Dum argentum afferat mercator pro
 asinis.

Here the slave Leonida impersonates the *atriensis* Saurea.

Captivi

vv.35ff. Hisce autem inter sese confinxerunt
 dolum,
 Quo pacto hic seruos suom erum hinc
 amittat domum:
 Itaque inter se commutant uestem et
 nomina:
 Illic uocatur Philocrates, hic Tyndarus,
 Huius illic, hic illius hodie fert
 imaginem,

This explains the exchange of rôles between the master and the slave.

Curculio

from the speech of the *miles*

vv.345ff. "Dedisti tu argentum?" inquam.
 "Immo apud trapezitam situmst
 Illum quem dixi Lyconidem, atque ei
 mandaui, qui anulo

Meo tabellas obsignatas attulisset, ut
daret

Operam, ut mulierem a lenone cum
auro et ueste abduceret."

results the personation by Curculio of the messenger from the *miles* in Act III,

v.408 Ab Therapontigone Platagidoro milite.

v.412 Libertus illius, quem omnes Summanum
uocant.

Epidicus

vv.87f. Ego miser perpuli
Meis dolis senem, ut censeret suam
sese emere filiam,

Here the *fidicina* has been received by Periphanes as his daughter, before the play begins, and he believes in her until v.580.

vv.371ff. Iam ego parabo
Aliquam dolosam fidicinam, nummo
conducta quae sit,
Quae se emptam simulet, quae senes
duo docte ludificetur.

Through the personation by a second *fidicina* of the *amica* of Stratippocles' fancy, bought at Periphanes' orders, Epidicus plots the deception of his master a second time.

Miles. The Miles contains three instances of personation:

(1) the twin-sister trick,

vv.150ff. Et mox ne erretis, haec duarum hodie
 uicem
 Et hinc et illinc mulier feret imaginem
 Atque eadem erit, uerum alia esse
 adsimulabitur
 Ita sublinetur os custodi mulieris.

(2) the *meretrix* Acroteleutium personates the wife of the old man Periplecomenus,

vv.766ff. mihi opus est opera tua,
 Periplecomene: nam ego inueni lepi-
 dam sycphantiam,

v.782 Ecquam tu potis reperire forma lepida
 mulierem,

vv.792f. adsimuletque se
 Tuam esse uxorem:

(3) Pleusicles personates the *nauclerus* to facilitate his abduction of Philocomasium:

v.1177 Facito uti uenias ornatu huc ad nos
 nauclerico;

vv.1285f. uerear magis
 Me amoris causa hoc ornatu incedere.

Persa

vv.148ff. Praemonstra docte, praecipe astu
 filiae,

Quid fabuletur: ubi se natam prae-
dicet,
Qui sibi parentes fuerint, unde sur-
rupta sit.

Here the parasite's daughter is to be instructed as to her personation, for the pretended sale and subsequent claim and ransom by her father.

Poenulus. The personation is carried out by Hanno, the Carthaginian, as the father of the girls, who claims them his daughters. The resulting anagnorisis proves this to be the case.³

vv.1099ff. Nunc hoc consilium capio et hanc
fabricam apparo,
Vt te allegemus: filias dicas tuas
Surrupasque esse paruolas Cartha-
gine,
Manu liberali causa ambas adseras,
Quasi filiae tuae sint ambae.

Pseudolus

vv.751ff. ubi hominem exornauero,
Subdituom fieri ego illum militis
seruom uolo:
Symbolum hunc ferat lenoni cum
quinque argenti minis,
Mulierem ab lenone abducatur:

³ cf. Terence: *Andria*, V 3, v.892, where Simo accuses Pamphillus of a similar plot against himself, to prove that Mysis is a free-born citizen.

Trinummus

A man is hired for a three-penny bit, which gives the name to the play, to bring money and letters, presumably from the girl's father, vv.765ff.

Because of the prominence of this sort of deception in the comedies, it is desirable to sum up here and to compare the occurrences. The instances of personation fall into several classes:—

(1) Those in which a real person is imitated, without his knowledge, and either his appearance or, in the cases where an agent of a certain character is impersonated, the appearance of the master or employer brings about the revelation of the deception. In this class are the *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Pseudolus*, *Trinummus*. In the *Asinaria*, to be sure, no such conclusion occurs, and the personation attains the desired end, though retributive justice is not meted out to the trickster, but to the old man who helped the trickster's plans. No obscurity results, however, from the unanticipated change in the course of the action.

(2) Those in which impersonation is entered upon by mutual consent, as in the *Captivi*, and the intervention of a third person, *Aristophontes*, reveals the deception, which however turns out fortunately, in the final *anagnorisis*.

(3) Those in which the imposture concerns an imaginary person, as in the *Miles*, *Persa* and *Poenulus*. Here there is accordingly no possibility of discovery as in the other two classes, but the outcome is either the attainment of the de-

sired end, as in the *Miles* and *Persa*, or the change of pretense to fact as in the *Poenulus*.

In this respect the *Epidicus* alone of all the plays shows apparent inconsistencies and obscurities;—in *Periphanes'* ready acceptance of the *fidicina* represented to him by his slave *Epidicus* to be his daughter, and in the abandonment by the second *fidicina* of the rôle planned for her by *Epidicus*, when the necessity arises for her to play it. Further comment upon this point is reserved for section B.

A connection exists, to be sure, between personation in the sense in which we have been discussing it, i. e. imposture, and the unconscious deception on the part of the personator, as in the *Menaechmi* and in those plays having anagnorisis. All three kinds of personation possess an important common element for the audience. The audience is in the secret, except in the case of "surprise" anagnorisis—possible in the *Curculio* and *Epidicus* (?), and the enjoyment comes from the fact that the audience beholds characters acting under misapprehension as to each other's identity, or misapprehending the identity of one character. The *Menaechmi* affords the purest illustration of this, since the twins, all unconscious themselves, are constantly mistaken for each other. cf. *Simo* in the *Mostellaria*, as *Theopropides* views him.

Where anagnorisis is approaching, the audience derives added enjoyment from the knowledge that the persons concerned are not aware of each other's identity,—e. g., the recognition between

Hegio and Tyndarus in the *Captivi*. So in purposed personation this element persists. For example in the *Bacchides*, the audience knows that Bacchis is not the wife of the soldier, or to take a better case, they know that Simia is not the real Harpax in the *Pseudolus*. In cases of this last type the chief enjoyment comes from noting the perils and cleverness of the impostor while he plays his part. In such cases the old tragic irony has often been diverted to comic purposes, though in the *Captivi* much of the original pathos remains.

Judging from the majority of the plays, therefore, we may conclude that a careful working out of this sort of deception is characteristic of Plautus. How far this conclusion affects our judgment of the Plautinity of the *Epidicus*, in its present condition, is another question and one which we will not endeavour to settle here.

3. Letters

Letters, for the most part forged, play an important part in the trickery of the *Bacchides*, *Curculio*, and *Trinummus*. Since in each case the contents of the letters are quoted, or implied, within the play and form an integral part of the dialogue, it is unnecessary to cite them here in detail.

4. Theft.

Theft as a means of carrying out deception is found in the *Asinaria* and the *Persa*.

Asinaria. In this play the act of theft is rendered possible by the personation, which has already been mentioned as a feature of the trickery, in giving the pseudo-Saurea an opportunity to appropriate the money which was paid for the asses,

vv335ff. Em, ergo is argentum huc remisit,
quod daretur Saureae
Pro asinis :

358ff. Quid nunc consili captandum censes?
dic. Li. Em istuc ago,
Quo modo argento interuortam et
aduentorem et Sauream.

Persa. In the *Persa* the purchase-money for the oxen is appropriated by the slave Sagaristio,

vv.259ff. Nam erus meus me Eretriam misit,
domitos boues ut sibi mercarer:
Dedit argentum: nam ibi mercatum
dixit esse die septumei:
Stultus, qui hoc mihi daret argentum
quouis ingenium nouerat.
Nam hoc argentum alibi abutar.

5. Miscellaneous

A few cases of deception effected by unique methods occur in the plays.

Gambling. In the *Curculio*, Curculio wins from the *miles* the ring which helps him in the later trick of personation:

vv.355f. Prouocat me in aleam, ut ego ludam. . . .
 Ille suom anulum opposiuit, ...

Secret passage. In the Miles:

vv.142f. In eo conclauī ego perfodi parietem,
 Qua commeatus clam esset hinc huc mulieri.

The methods, then, employed in the furtherance of deception are many. But the pre-eminence of personation and lying is noteworthy. Moreover, it should be mentioned that all the plays, except the *Mostellaria*, combine two or more methods even when there is only one end in view. This is to be differentiated from the fact that some of the plays,—the *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, *Miles*, *Persa*, *Poenulus* and *Pseudolus*,—contain two or three tricks. The following analysis of the inter-relation of plan and action in the plays will illustrate this point more fully.

B. Inter-relation of plans and completed action

Our study up to this point has been concerned with the various elements entering into deception and it has shown how often the same elements recur. We must now consider their arrangement in the several plays, that is, we must study the inter-relation of plans for deception and the carrying out of those plans, in order to discover,

if possible, Plautus' method of using these elements to work out his plots. It should be noted that the following analyses differ from the usual synopses of the plots given in editions of the plays in that they have trickery as the centre of interest. Also, inasmuch as a consideration of dropped threads of deception leads very naturally to the question of *contaminatio*, we may anticipate the discussion of that problem in section IV. and deal with it in part at the end of the analysis of each individual play.

Bacchides

The course of the trickery of the Bacchides was traced in the analysis of that play given in section I, and it is unnecessary to repeat it here. There are no dropped threads connected with the trickery nor is there reason for believing that *contaminatio* exists in the play.¹ In this play as in all the plays the inconsistencies noted by Langen² and others must, however, be considered to determine whether such discrepancies are found in points essential to the carrying-out of the trickery or only in non-essentials.

The first inconsistency which Langen notes³ concerns Lydus' attitude towards his *discipulus*, Pistoclerus, and this is not connected with the trickery. The unexplained stay of two years on the part of Mnesilochus, vv.170f., in Ephesus,

¹ Leo; Röm. Lit. pp.119ff.

² Plaut. Stud. pp.110ff.

³ Ibid. p.110f.

which obliged him to entrust his *affaires de coeur* to his friend, is just the sort of time-element⁴ which Plautus is inclined to disregard.⁵ For verification of this statement it is necessary to refer to several of the plays.

In the *Captivi* the length of time required for the prisoners to make their plans, prologue, v.37, and to change their clothes for the assumption of each other's rôle is not considered by the playwright. Likewise the length of time required for a journey to and from Elis is improbably set as one day, though this may be used, as has been suggested, to show that the action covers more than one day. In the *Curculio* the same thing is true of the length of time required for a journey to and from Caria, though in this case the lack of knowledge as to the site of the Caria in question renders the chronological difficulty uncertain. In the *Miles* the three years of absence, v.350, seem too long for the few incidents allotted to that time, vv.121-142. A similar disregard for time is seen in the *Mostellaria*, as will be apparent in the later analysis of the play. The element of time, which is immaterial to the progress of the plot of deception, is therefore frequently disregarded by Plautus. As such disregard does not

4 cf. A. Polczyk: *De unitatibus et loci et temporis in Nova Comoedia observatis*, Diss. 1909, Viadrina Uratislavensi, pp.38f. M. Brasse: *Quatenus in fabulis Plautinis et loci et temporis unitatibus species veritatis neglegetur*, Diss. Breslau, 1914, pp.87f.

5 cf. Terence: *Eunuchus*, vv.580ff., all the incidents crowded into the short time between the departure of Thais and Thraso and Chaerea's entrance.

affect the course of the trickery it need not, for our purpose, be explained away, though that might be done in some cases, as in the *Asinaria*, cf. the following analysis.

Nicobulus' acceptance of the state of affairs resulting from his son's failure to bring home the money from Ephesus, in spite of his reluctance at his age to undertake a sea-voyage⁶ and his failure to think of entrusting the matter a second time to his son, are unimportant. Chrysalus' ready revelation to Nicobulus of his son's whereabouts, vv.347f., when the success of the plan of deception depends upon Chrysalus' keeping father and son apart until he has himself revealed that plan to the latter, contradicts, to be sure, that slave's cleverness as displayed in other matters. But inasmuch as the playwright apparently so arranged the action that the slave and his young master meet before the son and father, we can regard the inconsistency as the sort of carelessness which Plautus shows in non-essentials. The requirement which Langen makes,⁷ that the poet should have informed the audience if some other place of meeting than the place mentioned by Chrysalus to Nicobulus had been agreed upon by the slave and his young master, may be accepted by a critical reader of the play. But such possible difficulties Plautus constantly disregarded. In other words, Plautus centres his attention upon the action as he develops it, not as it might develop without his guiding supervision of it.

⁶ Langen: *Plaut. Stud.* p.112.

⁷ *Ibid.* p.113.

Plautus' disregard of time is again illustrated in Act II 2 and 3. In v.374 Lydus states that he stayed only a short time in Bacchis' house, yet the actual time allows the action of Act II, scenes 2 and 3, which according to stage economy is comparatively long. As Langen himself acknowledges,⁸ the difficulty is not serious enough to throw doubt on v.374 as un-Plautine. J. Baar⁹ attributed it to *contaminatio*, but hardly with sufficient reason.¹⁰

In v.406 Philoxenus asks Lydus, "Quo sequar? quo ducis nunc me?" though it is quite evident that he knew where Lydus was taking him, from their leaving the house together intent upon a definite purpose. The question, therefore, is given merely for the sake of the answer, which repeats for the benefit of the audience what the two had evidently been discussing before they came out of the house. So too, in v.410, Philoxenus reproaches himself for the evil ways of his youth, as also in vv.1079f. Yet Lydus had previously extolled his blamelessness of life, vv.420ff. The contradiction may be easily explained by a desire on the part of Philoxenus to excuse his son's actions by the implication of "like father, like son."

The psychological improbability of Nicobulus' answer to Chysalus' spiteful question, vv.837f., so briefly acknowledging the attractiveness of

⁸ Ibid. p.113.

⁹ De Bacchidibus Plautina quaestiones, Diss Münster, 1891. Chap. IV.

¹⁰ O. Seyffert in Bursian's Jahresbericht, 1895, Part II. p.14.

Bacchis in spite of his anger at her seduction of his son, does not concern the question of the deception. Nor does the improbability of the conclusion of the play when the old men themselves fall a prey to the charmers from whom they had come to rescue their sons.

The fact that Chrysalus must apparently urge Nicobulus on to pay off the soldier, v.883, when the latter has been so eager to do so, vv.866ff., though inconsistent, as Langen points out, is probably introduced by Plautus to emphasize once more Chrysalus' individual manipulation of all the plans of deception and their execution. Though apparently contradictory, it is the sort of thing which would justify the claim that the focus of the Plautine plays is upon the trickster and his deceptions. This is particularly true of the *Bacchides*, since the play is so largely a character-study of the slave Chrysalus.¹¹

From this discussion of the *Bacchides* it is evident that in spite of the involved play and inter-play of plan and action in the comedy, all the carrying out of the deception is anticipated by some plan in the earlier part of the play, and vice versa the plans outlined in the earlier part of the play are carried out in the subsequent action. This is particularly noteworthy inasmuch as the play contains really two main tricks.

Asinaria

The object of the trickery in the *Asinaria* is to get money (20 minae)

¹¹ Lorenz; *Pseudolus*, ed. Introd. p.28.

vv.89f. Viginti iam usust filio argenti minis:
Face id ut paratum sit.

for the youth Argyrippus, son of Demaenetus and Artemona, who is in love with Philaenium, the daughter of a *lena*. The father is ready to help his son, vv.67, 82f., 123f., but, being powerless since his wife keeps the money-bag, vv.85ff., he enlists the services of Libanus his slave, and Leonida,

v.101 Tibi optionem sumito Leonidam:

with a promise to assist as far as is in his power,

vv.106f. Tun redimes me, si me hostes inter-
ceperint?
De. Redimam.

The two slaves evolve a plan, vv.249ff., when Leonida discovers that a merchant who had bought some asses from Saurea, Artemona's *atriensis*, had sent his messenger with the sum—20 minae. Leonida plans to impersonate Saurea and to relate the plan to the old man, vv.368f.; v.380.

Still more luckily, when the *mercator* inquires for Demaenetus and Saurea, Leonida at once pretends to be Saurea. At this point the audience is allowed to hear twice that the *mercator* knew Demaenetus but not Saurea, vv.348; 353. Yet in spite of Leonida's assertion that he is Saurea, the *mercator* refuses to pay the money to anyone

but Demaenetus. Leonida narrates all this to Libanus, vv.357ff., with the news of the *mercator's* imminent arrival.

Just as Leonida starts to the forum to acquaint Demaenetus with the plan which he and Libanus have made, the *mercator* is seen approaching and the slaves are forced to act at once. (Such need for haste at a crisis is often introduced to increase the effect of cleverness on the part of the trickster). Leonida hurries off to the forum, while Libanus engages the *mercator* in conversation. The latter repeats what had just been reported by Leonida, that he is seeking Demaenetus or Saurea, vv.392f., to pay 20 minae for asses, vv.396f., a repetition for the sake of clearness. Libanus takes this opportunity of preparing for the ensuing personation by describing Leonida as Saurea, vv.398ff.

In the personation scene which follows, Act II 4, Leonida plays the high and mighty *atriensis*, Saurea, and is ably assisted by Libanus. The fact of imposture is kept before the audience by the asides,¹² vv.446f., 471, between the two slaves as they coach each other. The *mercator* is apparently convinced, but still refuses to pay the money to anyone but Demaenetus, vv.487f. The actual payment takes place off the stage, as the audience is carefully informed, vv.581ff., when Demaenetus confirms the statements of the slaves.

In the meantime Argyrippus starts out in search of help on his own account,

¹² cf. Legrand: *Daos*, p. 548.

v.245 Nunc pergam ad forum atque experiar
opibus, omni copia.

v.248 Nam si mutuas non potero, certumst
sumam faenore.

but his efforts are fruitless and the lovers are extricated from their difficulties by Libanus. The condition which he imposes, however, that Demaenetus shall share the success of his son, v.735, is carried out in the concluding banquet-scene.

As in some of the other plays, the Persa for example, the trickster disappears from the play unpunished, and Artemona's anger at the end is vented upon her husband not because of her loss but because of her jealousy, when guided by the defeated rival for Philaenium's affections she finds him banqueting with the girl and Argyrippus. Aside from that, all the plans for the action are carried out except Argyrippus' efforts in his own behalf; for Act III 3, especially v.631, proves that he had accomplished nothing. That failure merely emphasizes his passive rôle in the play in contrast to the very active part of Libanus, the trickster.

This last point Langen¹³ has included among the inconsistencies in the play, inasmuch as by his determination to secure aid for himself Argyrippus seems to have forgotten that he had already appealed to his father for help, as is evident from the old man's desire to assist his son, vv.57ff. (Note the anger of the youth at the time,

¹³ Plaut. Stud. p.100f.

vv.243ff., when such a wild determination suits his mood, although he is really helpless.) But the solution of this difficulty is not vital to the progress of the trickery, which is not in the youth's hands.

Likewise it is inconsistent that Demaenetus should know the sum of money¹⁴ needed by his son, vv.74f., before the latter apparently knew the sum, v.229. All the discussion attendant upon an explanation of this contradiction is not pertinent to the trickery, for the exact sum is a mere detail. Demaenetus knew that his son needed money. The same is true of Libanus' unmotivated departure to the forum at the end of Act I 1,¹⁵ as also of the haste of Leonida when seeking Libanus, Act II 2, and his contradictory slowness in coming to the point of his business. Business transactions carried on in the public highway, as here, are the counterpart of the toilet-scenes in some of the other plays, impossible according to our dramatic proprieties, as Langen says, but quite common in the ancient drama.

In the *Asinaria*, as in the *Bacchides*, a disregard of the lapse of time is noted by Langen¹⁶ in vv.367ff., where within the space of twenty-five verses Leonida is off to the forum, finds Demaenetus there, and relates to him the plan concocted by the slaves. But this is not altogether impossible, as it was carefully arranged, vv.116f., 125f., that Demaenetus should be at the banker's.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp.97f.

¹⁵ Plaut. Stud. pp.98f.

¹⁶ Ibid. p.102.

Moreover the distance from Demaenetus' house to the forum is not stated. So why find a discrepancy here?

Langen¹⁷ frequently accuses Plautus of straining psychological probability for the sake of comic effect. An examination of these occurrences is necessary to determine whether they affect, or in any way are concerned with, the progress of the plot of deception. Two such psychological impossibilities have already been mentioned in the study of the *Bacchides*. Both of them are connected merely with the love intrigue and do not involve the trickery. In the *Captivi*, Langen finds another such instance in Hegio's investigation of the facts connected with the lives of the captives after his apparent acceptance of Philocrates' statements and the departure of Philocrates.

Langen also brands as psychologically improbable those scenes where a slave in haste to make some announcement, as in the *Mercator* or the *Asinaria*, wastes time in soliloquizing or in wrangling. The impression, however, upon an audience is just that which Plautus worked to produce,—amusement at the wrangling and not annoyance at the unwarranted interruption of the action, which an uncritical audience would fail to notice.¹⁸

In the *Mostellaria*, the improbability upon which the success of the ghost story rests, that

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.103.

¹⁸ C. Weissman: *De servi currentis persona*, Gissae, 1911.

Theopropides should not know of such a fact connected with his own house, or the improbability of his not knowing the plan of his neighbour's house, are disregarded for the sake of the comic situation which results from such ignorance. These improbabilities differ, to be sure, from those previously mentioned in that they are an integral part of the process of deception. But they illustrate all the better Plautus' method of disregarding verisimilitude for comic effect, a small detail for the sake of the whole. Besides, Theopropides is *inepte stultus*, v.495, as his credulity throughout the entire play shows.

Similarly improbabilities are admitted in several of the other plays, where the exigencies of the plot demand them, as in the *Curculio*, when the slave wins the ring from the soldier, and in the *Pseudolus* when the trickster obtains the letter and the *symbolus*. But it is evident that these improbabilities are intentionally allowed by Plautus, intent upon the effect which he aimed to produce. Such being the case, it is necessary merely to note their presence and not to endeavour to explain them away.

Captivi Realizing Hegio's intention of sending one of his Elean captives back to Elis to arrange for an exchange of prisoners for his son who is held captive in that country, Philocrates and Tyndarus, the *captivi*, have exchanged rôles, cf. vv.35ff., 222ff., to win the former's freedom, vv.40f. Both Tyndarus' speech, vv.231ff., and Philocrates', vv.240ff., emphasize the fact of the

exchange, clearly and definitely, though the plans for that exchange, from the contents of the verses just cited, were made before the action of the play begins,¹⁹ since there is so definite an understanding between the slave and his master. The repetition of the plan in vv.223ff., is for the benefit of the audience, since the situation is so confusing. The inconsistency in the time noted by Langen and discussed above is of the sort, as has been already noted, found in the other plays and does not affect the action.

The plan is successfully carried out, Act II 2, cf.

v.276 Vt facete orationem ad seruitutem
contulit,

while Tyndarus in his asides, vv.276, 284, keeps before the audience the fact of deception carried out through the interchange of rôles.

vv.305f. Me qui liber fueram seruom fecit, e
summo infumum.

Qui imperare insueram nunc alterius
imperio obsequor

would be especially appreciated by the audience because of the contrast between them and the true state of things of which they are aware. But the trick is discovered, Act III 3 and 4, through the recognition of Tyndarus by Aristophontes, another Elean captive whom Hegio had

¹⁹ Langen: *Plaut. Stud.* pp.116f.

lodged in his brother's house, v.458. The discovery involves the *astutia* of Tyndarus, v.539, of pretending that Aristophontes is mad in order to avoid detection himself, vv.547f. But the *astutia* fails and the trickster is punished. The thread of deception is carried through to the end, Act IV 2, by Hegio's shame at being so easily duped.

It should be noted how the interchange of rôles, of which the audience is fully informed but of which Hegio knows nothing, is kept constantly before the audience by just such ambiguous statements as have been cited,

vv.413f. Quo pacto emisisti e uinculis tuorum
 tua sapientia.

Phil. Feci ego ista ut commemoras et
 te meminisse id gratumst mihi.

435f. Quom me seruom in seruitute pro ted
 hic reliqueris

Tuque te pro libero esse ducas, . . .

The use of the aside, as in v.276 quoted above, or as in,

v.284. Salua res est: philosophatur quoque
 iam, non mendax modost,

referring to the carrying out of the plan of deception, or aiding and abetting it as in the *Asinaria* where the two slaves, Leonida and Libanus, spur each other on in their efforts to outwit the

mercator, Act II 4, should also be noted. Thus the trick is kept before the audience. An examination of the other plays shows similar occurrences and uses.

In the *Persa* Toxilus spurs on the *virgo*, vv.606f., and comments in an aside, vv.622, 632, 639, 645, on her cleverness in such a way as to keep before the audience the imposture. In the *Pseudolus*, that tricky slave declares for the benefit of the audience that all is ready for the execution of the trick against Ballio, v.958, and from his vantage-point, v.959, he observes Simia's clever duping of the *leno*, v.959, with apprehension, at first, lest Simia make a slip, v.984, but with complete satisfaction at his success, as he himself acknowledges, vv.1017ff., when he sums up the trick.

The *Miles* likewise presents the same feature, Act IV 6, when Acroteleutium the *meretrix* befools the *miles*. Maid and mistress spur each other on, vv.1219f., and again the audience knows that the stage is set for the trick,

Tuomst principium.

Likewise in vv.1343b ff., the recognition between Philocomasium and Pleusicles must have been in an aside, the purpose of which was to keep before the audience the fact that the *nauclerus* is none other than the disguised lover, who planned thus to add one more point to the discomfiture of the *miles*, vv.1177.

This use of the aside is an interesting feature²⁰ of the comedies of Plautus, and it might be analyzed in much greater detail than the scope of the present study allows. Yet even these few illustrations suffice to show that the aside, either as a soliloquy or as an exhortation to action, was used by Plautus very much as it is used by playwrights today, to focus the attention of the audience more closely upon the immediate action and to render it as clear as possible.

In the *Captivi* there are a few unimportant inconsistencies; for example, in Acts IV and V the journey from Aetolia to Elis and back is represented as taking place in one day. But as we have already noted, Plautus is inclined to disregard this detail of time.²¹ The slave's haste also lacks motive, as does Hegio's investigation as to the truth of Philocrates' statements. But as Langen is forced to admit, here again verisimilitude is sacrificed for the sake of comic effect, inasmuch as the determination of Hegio leads to the resultant complication between Tyn-darus and Aristophanes, which is extremely entertaining but which would not have been possible had Hegio sought out Aristophontes before Philocrates' departure.

Such apparent forgetfulness on the part of the poet as seen in vv.947f., where Hegio promises to set Tyn-darus free, though already in vv.331f.,

²⁰ Legrand: *Daos*, p. 548; O. Schaffner: *De aversum loquendi ratione in comoedia Graeca*, Gissae, 1911, p.20.

²¹ Brix: *Captivi*, ed. *Introd.* p.3 and note.

he had assured him of freedom,²² or where Hegio sends off Philocrates at once to arrange for the exchange of prisoners, when in vv.341f., he had decided to do so, *ubi erunt induitiae*, is characteristic of a poet who is so careless in minor details. As we shall see from further study of the other comedies, "the play's the thing", and with Plautus the "play" is primarily the plot of deception. With that clearly planned and carried out, and entertaining, clearness and exactness of consistency in minor details are not worth considering.

Casina The basis of the trickery in this play consists in plots and counter-plots of a father and son, (the son does not appear in the play, cf. prologue v.65) who are rivals for the affections of Casina, vv.48ff. The servants of the two assist and abet their masters, and Cleostrata, the wife of the *senex*, favours her son's suit and works in his interests. The conflict starts in Act I 1 between the servants of the rivals, each of whom pretends that Casina is to be won for himself, not for his master, vv.52, 69, 55, 109, and each one is on his guard, vv.92, 95, against the other. Cleostrata, as already stated, vv.150, 155, plans to thwart her wayward husband in his desires and enlists her friend Myrrhina's sympathy and future assistance, vv.215f.

Suspicious of his wife before this, Lysidamus' conversation with her in Act II 3 confirms his belief that she is aware of his plans,

²² Langen: Plaut. Stud. pp.123f.

vv.277f. . . . subolet hoc iam uxori, quod ego
machinor:

Propter eam rem magis armigero dat
operam de industria

and spurs him on to action, i. e. to determine Casina's fate by lot-drawing, vv.296f., especially as Chalinus, working in the son's interests, refuses to give the girl to Lysidamus, vv.293f. The plan is carried out in Act II 6 and the lot falls, v.415, to Olympio, that is to the father, and Cleostrata is bidden to deck the bride for the wedding, v.419, while Lysidamus plans a retreat for himself and the bride in his friend's house, vv.477ff., cf.

v.521 Fac uacent aedes.

Chalinus, though defeated in the lot-drawing, is still watchful, v.436, and overhearing the conversation of his enemies and their real plans, Act II 8, is spurred on in the interests of his mistress to outwit the old man by undoing what has been done,

vv.513f. Quod id quod paratumst, ut paratum
ne siet,
Sitque ei paratum quod paratum non
erat.

In other words, we are definitely informed that the previous trick shall be rendered useless.

Informed by Chalinus of the state of affairs, Cleostrata lays her plans to outwit her husband and his colleagues, vv.560f., 590. First she stirs up trouble between her husband and his friend so that the hospitality of his friend's house is no longer open to him,

v.561 Nam ego aliquid contrahere cupio litigi
 inter eos duos.

Then she invents a tale of Casina's madness and her raving threats, vv.655ff. But this scene of the maid's disclosure of Casina's condition, though evidently planned as prefatory to the actual appearance of Casina in that condition, is not used in the solution of the plot, and the scene consequently lacks motive. Instead Cleostrata plans a more clever stratagem which is carefully outlined beforehand, vv.769ff., for the benefit of the audience, of the personation of Casina by the *armigerus*, who is to be given to the *senex* as the bride. The preparations include all those customary for a wedding, vv.774f., though the fact of the deception is kept before the audience,

vv.855ff. Acceptae bene et commode eximus in-
 tus
 Ludos uisere huc in uiam nuptialis.
 Numquam ecastor ullo die risi
 adaeque
 Neque hoc quod relicuomst plus
 risuram opinor.

cf. vv.871ff. The trick is carried out to a successful close and the old man is worsted.

Casina's fate is cleared up in the epilogue, vv.1013f., so all the threads of the trickery are caught up except the motiveless raving-scene. The reason for this sudden conclusion in vv.1005f., should be noted,—*hanc ex longa longiorem ne faciamus fabulam*. This together with the fact that the prologue contains no indication of either the lot-drawing or the impersonation, but does hint at the final agnorsis mentioned in the epilogue, leads Leo²³ to the conclusion that Plautus used the prologue of the original Greek play in spite of the addition of other elements which made a farce out of the comedy.²⁴ Teuffel²⁵ attributed the difficulty to *retractatio*, but without sufficient reason.²⁶

As to the description of Casina's madness which Ritschl²⁷ already had noted as without motive and brought in merely to amuse the audience, Langen points out correctly that such inconsistencies are characteristic of Plautine comedy, as we have seen, and not remarkable or unique as Ritschl had believed. Moreover, Pardalisca, vv.685ff., tells the audience that all is false. Such is true also of the other discrepancies, pointed out by Langen,²⁸ in the disre-

23 Plaut. Forsch. pp.207ff.

24 Ibid, p.168.

25 Stud. u. Char. pp.321f.

26 Langen: Plaut. Stud. pp.278ff.

27 Opusc. II p.746.

28 Plaut. Stud. pp.127ff.

gard for the lapse of time between Act III 1 and 3; in the changes in the characterization of Myrrhina; in the motiveless speeches. One other difficulty noted by Langen²⁹ should be considered: that although at vv.613f. Myrrhina is not with Cleostrata, yet, v.687, she has been with her long enough to plan the trick of Casina's madness before the appearance of Pardalisca at v.621. The time is scant, for there is no pause before v.621 which follows immediately upon

v.620 Quid illuc clamoris, opsecro, in nostrast
domo?

Yet there are parallels, cf. the short time allowed for the girl to move from house to house in the Miles, vv.395-411, 456-468.

We can hardly agree with Legrand³⁰ in considering the plot merely a juxtaposition of episodes, too much lacking in coherence to make possible a separation of the several plays which served as its model. Compared with the obscurity of the Epidicus, for example, the Casina is clear and unified. The Casina, therefore, the one play concerning whose revival we have explicit information, cf. Prolog. vv.11ff., was not so altered at the time of its later presentation as to become obscure. We may infer that *retractatio* did not always produce obscurities, cf. also Langen's remark³¹ that the Casina contains no

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Daos, p.387f.

³¹ Plaut. Stud, p.31.

cases of redundancy or repetition so striking that they may be unPlautine. Even though the Greek model contained nothing like the farce which ends the play, neither its treatment nor the combination of the farcical elements with the play of Diphilus is unPlautine.

Curculio In the *Curculio*, Phaedromus, a youth, is in love with a girl, v.42ff., in the service of a *leno*, who wishes to force her into the life of a *meretrix*, v.46, from which Phaedromus wishes to free her. For that purpose he needs 30 *minae*, v.63, and he has sent his parasite to Caria to borrow the money from a friend. The parasite who gives the name to the play carries out the intrigue. Relying upon his assistance, Phaedromus is very apprehensive lest he return from Caria without the needed money,

vv.143f. . . . nam confido parasitum hodie
aduenturum
Cum argento ad me.

cf. vv.225f. The need and the effort to meet that need occurred before the action of the play opens, vv.67f. But the return of the parasite with the means at hand, vv.274ff., 335f., dispels Phaedromus' apprehension and he falls in with Curculio's plan to trick the *trapezita*,

vv.369f. Tu tabellas consignato, hic ministrabit,
ego edam.
Dicam quem ad modum conscribas.

by a forged letter backed by the guarantee of a ring which he had won from the *miles*.

All the details necessary for the execution of the trick had been revealed to Curculio by the *miles*,—a letter and seal to be honoured by the release of the girl, vv.345ff. Each of these is used in the subsequent action, vv.411f., v.421, vv.432ff., as well as in the contents of the forged letter which Curculio composed to help out the deception. The trick is successful, Act III 1, and the money is at hand, v.455, for the *virgo*, who is ransomed from the *leno* on the condition that the ransom-money be refunded if she be found to be free-born.

vv.490ff. Memento promississe te, si quisquam
hanc liberali

Causa manu adsereret, mihi omne
argentum redditum eiri,

Minas triginta. Ca. Meminero:

The trick is discovered, Act IV 3, upon the arrival of the *miles*, with a careful repetition of the details involved in the transaction. But as the girl turns out to be the *miles*' sister, the *leno* is held to his promise, v.717, and the girl is betrothed to her lover.

The exposition of the play is perfectly clear in spite of the shortening which has befallen it, to which Langen³² attributed the discrepancies between the various passages wherein the sum of money needed to ransom the girl is mentioned, vv.343ff., 525ff., 666, 682ff. The disregard of

³² Plaut. Stud. p.136.

the time required for Curculio's journey to Caria and back, v.206, cannot be regarded as serious unless the identity of this particular Caria be established. Characteristic of Plautine technique are the motiveless appearance of the *miles* immediately after Curculio's return and the lack of motivation, according to Legrand,³³ and the psychological improbability of the *miles*' disclosure to Curculio, though it is absolutely necessary for the development of the action. In defense we might say that it is not improbable that at such a drinking bout the soldier should become communicative nor that he should go after the girl. His arrival occurs, of course, when it is needed.

The disappearance of Palinurus from the play, which Leo notes,³⁴ is due to the appearance of Curculio and the transfer of the action to his guidance.³⁵ He is more active, Leo holds, than the usual *πρόσωπον προτακτικόν*, hence his disappearance needs explanation, though it in no way affects the course of the deception.

We have noted above that Langen attributed the variations in the money transaction to *retractatio*, especially the unexplained additional ten *minae*, vv.343, 525, 528. An examination of the other comedies in which such transactions play an important part, the *Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, *Persa*, and *Pseudolus*, may prove illuminating.

³³ Daos, p.404.

³⁴ Plaut. Forsch. p.197, n.l.

³⁵ Ibid, p.243.

In the *Asinaria*, one sum, 20 *minae*, occurs throughout the play, except in v.193 where the *lena*, with the greed characteristic of her profession, at first demands the exorbitant sum of two talents, sure to raise a laugh because of its exorbitance. When she finally becomes serious in v.229, she gives the actual sum, again 20 *minae*. The constant reiteration of the sum in vv.633ff. adds to the comic effect just as much as the exaggeration of the sum in the *Persa*, v.743,³⁶ which is the only deviation in that play from the 600 *nummi* mentioned elsewhere, v.36, 117, 437, 852.

In the *Pseudolus*, though it is perhaps a contaminated play (cf. below) the sum of money needed for the girl remains the same throughout, 20 *minae*, vv.52, 113f., 117, 280, 344, 404, 412, 484, 1068, 1070, 1077, 1223, 1228, 1241, of which the *miles* has already paid fifteen *minae* and still owes five, vv.54, 346, 619, 718, 732, 753, 1149. Similarly in the *Bacchides*, 200 golden *Philippi* is the price set for Bacchis' ransom, vv.590, 706, 709, 868, 873, 879, 882, 919, 969, 997, 1010, 1026, 1033, 1050.

In the *Epidicus* various sums occur,³⁷ 40 *minae* in vv.52, 114, 122, 141, 296, 646; 50 *minae* in vv.347, 366, 467, though in the first instance the explanation is given that the sum is ten *minae* more than the *danista* demands; and in v.468, 60 *minae*, the old man is evidently trying to strike as good a bargain as possible with the *miles*.

³⁶ Langen: Plaut. Stud. p.178.

³⁷ Ibid. p.139.

Plautus, to be sure, interchanges terms for money at will;³⁸ and his *nummus*, though regularly referring to the *didrachma*, sometimes has a value of one or four *drachmae*, while *nummus* or *Philippus aureus* regularly equals one-fifth of a *mina*. Since in general, therefore, the playwright is consistent in the number, at least, we may conclude that those variations which occur, as here for example, are probably due to some re-worker of the play.

Epidicus In the *Epidicus*, Stratippocles, a youth, off to the wars, had given a commission to his slave Epidicus to secure for him a *fidicina*, vv.46ff., with whom he had become enamoured. This Epidicus had accomplished; but the youth, during his campaign having transferred his affection to a captive Theban girl and borrowed money from a *danista*, v.115, to ransom her, appeals to Epidicus upon his return to help him get the money to repay the loan and incidentally to get rid of the former object of his fancy, *fidicina*, No. 1.

vv.151f. St. Quid illa fiet fidicina igitur? Ep.
 Aliqua res reperibitur;
 Aliqua ope exsoluam, extricabor aliqua.

Both of these things Epidicus agrees to do, first by working on Periphanes' (the father of

³⁸ Brix: *Trinummus*, ed. note on v.844; Gray: *Epidicus*, ed. note on v.54.

Stratippocles) suspicions of his son's entanglement with a *fidicina*,

v.191 Nam ego illum audiui in amorem haerere
apud nescioquam fidicinam;

to the extent of persuading him to furnish the money to buy her and send her out of the country,

v.193 Ipsi hi quidem mihi dant uiam, quo pacto
ab se argentum auferam

and by disposing of *fidicina* No. 1, whom we had, before the play opens, persuaded the old man to ransom from her owner as his long-lost daughter, to a *miles* who is interested in her,

vv.153ff. . . . Est Euboicus miles, locuples,
multo auro potens,
Qui ubi tibi istam emptam esse scibit
atque hanc adductam alteram,
Continuo te orabit ultro, ut illam
tramittas sibi.

The money which is to be obtained presumably to buy the *fidicina* No. 2, is intended really for the *danista's* claims against Stratippocles for the money which he had loaned him to pay for the captive girl.

Inasmuch as Periphanes cannot in person arrange the transaction with the *leno* for the *fidicina*, Epidicus enlists the help of Periphanes' friend Apoecides,

v.287 Opus est homine, qui illo argen-
tum deferat pro fidicina;

cf. vv.357ff. Nunc auctorem
Dedit mihi ad hanc rem Apoe-
ci-dem—is apud forum manet me.

And as the *fidicina* No. 2 is really only a figment of Epidicus' crafty, scheming brain, he must get some *fidicina* to help him carry out his pretense. To that end he plans to engage the assistance of a cithern-player whom Periphanes had directed him to hire for a ceremony on that day, cf. vv.314f. To facilitate his plans he decides even to give a message with double meaning to the *leno*,

vv.364ff. Deueniam ad lenonem domum egomet
solus, eum docebo,
Siqui ad eum adueniant, ut sibi esse
datum argentum dicat,
Pro fidicina argenti minas se habere
quingenta

who may testify apparently to the genuineness of the purchase, but who will do so to his own undoing,

v.369 Ibi leno sceleratum caput suum inprudens
alligabit.

So much for the plans and ruses laid by the trickster. The accomplishment of them is a different matter. Epidicus gets the needed money from the old man, v.319, and hands it over to his young master,

v.347 Decem minis plus attuli, quam tu danistae debes.

With Apocides as a witness he also purchases the *fidicina* No. 2, at least to all appearances, though he has only hired her, Act III 3,

vv.411ff. ut ille fidicinam
Fecit nescire esse emptam tibi:
Ita ridibundam atque hilarum huc adduxit simul.

In Act III 4 the opportune appearance of the *miles* seems to Periphanes to be solving his problem of getting rid of *fidicina* No. 2; but in the confusion which results from the *miles*' failure to recognize her as the *fidicina* of his fancy, she reveals the true state of affairs, either under pressure of circumstances in the absence of her employer Epidicus, who might have kept her keyed up to the rôle which he had planned to dictate to her, or through an intentional volte-face in her rôle on the part of the playwright, for comic effect, or through her belief that she had really been only hired.³⁹ Upon this revelation she is dismissed with little ceremony by Periphanes, v.515, and disappears from the play like the parasite and his daughter in the *Persa*.

The appearance of *fidicina* No. 1, Act IV 2, reveals the old man's predicament still further,

³⁹ A. L. Wheeler: The Plot of the *Epidicus*, A. J. P. Vol. XXXVIII 3 (1917) pp. 236-264.

when he realizes, through the evidence of Philippa, that Epidicus has led him to believe her his daughter, when such is not the case,

vv.597f. Quibus de signis agnoscebas? Pe.
Nullis. Phi. Qua re filiam
Credidisti nostram? Pe. Seruos Epidi-
cus dixit mihi.

When the real daughter actually appears in the person of Telestis, the Theban captive, the recognition between her and Epidicus leads to a final clearing-up and explanation, vv.696ff. The fate of the *fidicina* No. 1 is left undetermined, unless it is hinted at in

v.653 Tibi quidem quod ames domi praestost—
fidicina—opera mea:

And Epidicus' plan to dupe the *leno*, mentioned above, is not carried out.

Apart from this last point, the other contradictions noted by Langen⁴⁰ do not affect the course of the trickery. Such details as contradictions in the price demanded for the Theban captive (Plautus is often inconsistent in arithmetic, cf. discussion above in the *Curculio*⁴¹) or in Rhodian *versus* Euboean for the nationality of the *miles*, or in *portam* *versus* *portum* in the manuscript reading of v.14,⁴² are easily overlooked in a plot

⁴⁰ Plaut. Stud. pp.137ff.

⁴¹ A. L. Wheeler: *Epidicus*, A. J. P. op. cit.

⁴² Langen: op. cit. p.138.

so complicated as this.⁴³ Such neglect may in part be attributed to the playwright himself.

Whether the loose and dropped threads noted above can also be attributed to him is another matter. Ladewig assumed *contaminatio*⁴⁴ to explain the complicated plot. Reinhardt⁴⁵ blamed *retractatores* for it. Ussing⁴⁶ contests both, explaining the shortness of the play in comparison with the *Bacchides*, for example, by *lacunae*. To be sure, the *Epidicus* lacks to a great extent those long drawn out dialogues, unessential to the plot and introduced generally for comic effect, or as time fillers, which the others contain. Take for example the *Persa* and the *Pseudolus*. If we should strip them of passages generally agreed to be unnecessary, the difference in length between the plays would not be so great. The *Persa* minus Act II 2 and II 4 and all of Act V,—857vv.—176vv.,—leaves 681 verses. The *Pseudolus* minus Act I 2, III 2, II 2 and most of V 2,—1335vv.—256vv.,—leaves 1078 verses in contrast to the 780 verses of the *Epidicus*; and the result is striking. To be sure, in the case of the *Persa* and the *Pseudolus* there is not the same degree of obscurity which is present in the *Epidicus*.

Leo suggested⁴⁷ that all the difficulties were probably cleared up in a prologue which is now

⁴³ Ussing; *Commentarius*, p.245.

⁴⁴ Gray: *Ed. Introd.* p.XXX.

⁴⁵ Studemund's *Studien* I 103.

⁴⁶ *Op cit.*

⁴⁷ *Plaut. Forsch.* p.199.

missing. The change also in the conclusion of the play from that of the Greek original, to suit the Roman taste and point of view,⁴⁸ caused some ambiguity,⁴⁹ inasmuch as Plautus apparently did not attempt to adjust the preceding action to the changed conclusion. Dziatzko considered that this play was a good illustration of the independence which Plautus might exercise if he chose, and hence his fondness for the play, cf. *Bacchides* vv.214f., may have rested upon his consciousness of that independence.

Ritschl⁵⁰ considered the carrying out of the intrigue in the *Epidicus* spirited and clever; but, as he himself admitted, in contrast with the *Pseudolus* and the *Mostellaria* we miss that keen enjoyment of the trickery in and for itself, a lack which is partly due to the obscurity already mentioned. But not all the obscurity can be attributed to the poet's treatment of an unusual Greek original nor to the loss of a prologue or expository passage early in the play. Some of it must be due surely to later cutting, and the play cannot be declared Plautine in its present form.⁵¹

Menaechmi

Inasmuch as the confusion arising from the mistaken identity of the brothers *Menaechmi* is the result of unconscious rather

⁴⁸ Dziatzko: *Der Inhalt des Georgos von Menander*, Rh. M. 55, (1900) pp.104ff.

⁴⁹ Leo: *Röm. Lit.* p.133.

⁵⁰ *Opusc. II* pp.746f.

⁵¹ A. L. Wheeler: *Epidicus*, op. cit.

than intentional deception, an analysis of the plot need not be introduced here. The fact of deception as the chief interest in the play brings it necessarily within the first class of plays as we have divided them. But the deception is a static rather than an active one.

Since the unity of the play cannot be maintained by a close inter-relation of plan and action, as is the case in the other plays, the playwright's methods of attaining such unity should be noted, inasmuch as in the processes of unconscious deception those methods are equivalent to the definitely worked out plans in the other plays. With the first appearance of Menaechmus I are introduced the details about which centre the subsequent confusion,—the meddlesome wife, vv.122ff., 161; the *meretrix*, vv.124, 130, 173; the wife's *palla* stolen as a gift for the *amica*, vv.130, 166; the ubiquitous parasite. With Menaechmus' presentation of his wife's *palla* to the *meretrix*, v.202, in the parasite's presence, all these details are again united.

The entrance of Menaechmus II with his announcement of his search for his twin-brother, v.233, and his slave's warning to beware of the temptations of the city, vv.268ff., followed by his immediate meeting with the *meretrix's* cook who mistakes him for Menaechmus I, sets the stage for the play. Again parasite, v.281, and *meretrix*, v.300, combine; and with the appearance of Erotium, the *meretrix* herself, and her salutation of Menaechmus II as Menaechmus I, all these details are reunited, especially in

vv.420ff. . . . hunc metuebam, ni meae
 Vxori renuntiaret de palla et de
 prandio.
 Nunc quando uis, eamus intro. Er.
 Etiam parasitum manes?

when Menaechmus finally yields to circumstances.

When the parasite meets Menaechmus II carrying the *palla*, v.469, and mistakes him for Menaechmus I, the soliloquy of Menaechmus II, vv.474ff., gives the clue to the audience for another scene of misunderstanding, in which the same details are reiterated and the *palla* serves as incriminating evidence, vv.505ff. This evidence the parasite uses when he reports to Menaechmus I's wife her husband's misdemeanours, Act IV 1.

As to what Menaechmus I may have been doing during the time required for the intervening action, the playwright is careful to explain in Menaechmus' own words, vv.588ff., with clear emphasis upon the essential connecting-links, *amica*, v.598ff *palla*, v.609; *uxor*, v.601. So also through the scene between the *matrona* and her father and Menaechmus II, Act IV 1, especially

vv.406f. . . . etiam nunc habet pallam, pater,
 . . . quod ad hanc detulerat:

and again in Act V 8, between Menaechmus I and the *senex*, the same thread runs,

vv.1048f. Nunc ibo intro ad hanc meretricem,
 quamquam suscenset mihi,
 Sei possum exorare, ut pallam red-
 dat, quam referam domum.

In the final recognition-scene, Act V 9, the same details recur,—*pallam*, vv.1061, 1138; *meretrix*, vv.1135; though the parasite is supplanted by the *servus* Messenio.

Chance in a freakish whim⁵² controls the affairs of the characters of the drama. The chief inconsistency is the lack of sagacity on the part of the two brothers all through the play but especially when they finally meet.⁵³ The chief defect is the long, tiresome anagnorisis⁵⁴ which fails even of being very amusing. The play is full of improbabilities, but there are no obscurities of sufficient importance to spoil the fun.

Mercator

The Mercator presents the same theme as the Casina, rivalry in love between a father and son, resulting in the triumph of the youth and the discomfiture of the old man. The youth Charinus speaks the prologue and gives the facts necessary for a comprehension of the play: he had been sent by his father, Demipho, to Rhodes on business, v.11, where he had fallen in love; he had bought the object of his fancy, v.106, and brought her back with him to Athens, but not wishing his father to see her had left her

⁵² Legrand: Daos, p.395.

⁵³ Ibid. p.405.

⁵⁴ Langen: Plaut. Stud. p.157.

on board the ship with a slave. His efforts are in vain, however, v.181, and the resulting complications, that is the trickery, consist merely in the efforts of the old man to gain possession of the girl by pretending to buy her for a friend and the counter-pretense on the part of Charinus, first that he has bought her as an *ancilla* for his mother and later his desire to buy her for a friend.

Throughout the play there is little planning and the whole thread of the plot is traced by the playwright in allegorical language in Demipho's dream, Act II 1,

vv.252ff. Hoc quam ad rem credam pertinere
 somnium
 Nequeo inuenire: nisi capram illam
 suspikor
 Iam me inuenisse quae sit aut quid
 uoluerit.

In the absence of the usual careful planning of the deception, such as has been found in the other plays, this dream serves as preparation for the subsequent action.⁵⁵

The first encounter of the rivals occurs in Act II 3, where each does his best to outwit the other. Demipho apparently gets the upper hand and hurries off to the ship where Charinus is keeping the girl, though he takes the precaution of trying to avoid detection,

⁵⁵ Leo: Plaut. Forsch. pp.162ff. cf. also the dream in the Rudens.

vv.466ff. Ibo ad portum, ne hic resciscat, cauto
 opust, non ipse emam,
 Sed Lysimacho amico mandabo: is se
 ad portum deixerat
 Ire dudum.

The old man's eagerness is offset by Charinus' counter-trick, vv.485ff., to have his friend Euty-chus buy the girl for him, though whence the money shall be obtained is not known,

vv.492f. Sed quid ais? unde erit argentum quod
 des, quom poscet pater?
 Cha. Inuenietur, exquiretur, aliquid
 fiet.

Demipho's agent, Lysimachus, anticipates Euty-chus, however, and carries off Pasicompsa whom he plans to lodge safely in his own house, without the knowledge of his friend's wife or his son. Charinus is apparently defeated, vv.593ff., v.616, and decides to run away, when he hears of his failure. His friend, Euty-chus, however, finds the girl in his own father's house, where her presence has caused a serious misunderstanding between his parents, since loyalty to his friend Demipho prevents Lysimachus' explanation of Pasicompsa's presence in his house. A final clearing-up of the situation follows.

As is evident from a comparison of this plot with that of the other plays, the trickery is not nearly so complicated nor so definitely planned and carried out. But the plot is simple and uni-

fied. The psychological improbabilities in the play⁵⁶ arise as in the other plays from the sacrifice of probability for the sake of comic effect. In Act II 3 where neither father nor son seems to suspect the ultimate purpose of the other, the ridiculousness of the situation adds greatly to the amusement. Also the details as to the purchase of Pasicompsa are not clear, but enough is given for the audience to understand that she has come into Demipho's power. (This is a case in which the details of what occurs off the stage are not clear.) There are no contradictions. There is much discussion about vv.529ff., where Lysimachus tells the girl, *Tuo ero redempta's rursum*. but Lysimachus is poking fun all through this scene, so such discussion need not be taken seriously.

Miles Gloriosus

The Miles is a good illustration of the way in which Plautus carefully prepares for trickery in his plays and keeps before his audience the fact that deception is being practised upon the various victims involved. The preparation for all the subsequent trickery⁵⁷ is the agreement made by a glance, v.123, between Philocomasium and Palaestrio, the trickster, to keep their former acquaintance a secret. The entire development of the action rests practically upon this agreement, which is kept up through-

⁵⁶ Langen: Plaut. Stud. pp.158ff.

⁵⁷ Brix: Miles Gloriosus, ed. Introd. p.41, note.

out the play, since even at the end when Palaestrio is sent by the *miles* to follow Philocomasium, vv.1372ff., the *miles* apparently does not know of their acquaintance.

The action of the Miles includes three ruses, the first of which is being used when the play opens, i. e. the secret passage between the houses of the *miles* and Periplecomenus, to admit of intercourse between the youth Pleusicles and Philocomasium who is detained under the guard of the soldier's *servus* Sceledrus,

vv.142f. In eo conclauī ego perfodi parietem,
Qua commeatus clam esset hinc huc
mulieri.

By this means and by the pretense that a twin-sister of Philocomasium's is staying in Periplecomenus' house, i. e. the second trick, vv.150ff., cf.

vv.237ff. Nunc sic rationem incipisso, hanc instituam astutiam:
Ut Philocomasio huc sororem geminam germanam alteram
Dicam Athenis aduenisse cum amatore aliquo suo
Tam similem quam lacte lactist:

helped along by the pretended dream, narrated by the *mulier*, vv.383ff., Sceledrus is completely fooled, as he is forced to admit, vv.538f., cf. v.556. Philocomasium's personation as she plays

the rôle of the twin-sister in Act II 5 is especially convincing.

The audience is carefully informed of the chief means whereby the plot is to be carried out, i. e. by the secret passage. An extremely naïve "stage direction" for the audience is given in

vv.522ff. Heus, Philocomasium, cito
Transcurre curriculo ad nos: ita negotiumst.
Post, quando exierit Sceledrus a nobis, cito
Transcurrito ad uos rursum curriculo domum.

But Sceledrus is unaware of it, vv.145ff., vv.329, 376. Indications of its use, besides the quick passing of Philocomasium from one house to the other, vv.182, 411ff., occur throughout the play. The preparation for the twin-sister trick, vv.150ff., indicates its use, v.151 *hinc et illinc*, as do Palaestrio's orders quoted above, cf. vv.182, 473f. Sceledrus' reiteration that as far as his knowledge goes no connection exists between the two houses, vv.329, 376, 418, merely adds to the comic effect and increases the appearance of his delusion. It is evident, too, that clearness was gained by gesture, especially where both houses were indicated, or where a contrast between the two was intimated, v.143 *hinc huc*; v.154 *hinc a vicino sene*; v.151 *hinc et illinc*; vv.323f. *domi . . domi . . domi*, which was surely emphasized by pointing; v.361 *ad laevam*; v.376 *domo con-*

trasted with v.377 *hinc huc* and v.379 *hic intus*; v.421 *quid tibi istic in istisce aedibus*; cf. also vv.181f. *hicine . . hic; huc*; v.264 *hic in proxumo*; v.273 *hic proxumae uiciniae*; v.301 *intus hic in proxumo*; v.329 *hinc huc transire*; v.338 *hic intus*; v.341 *exire hinc*. v.455 *isto me intro* must surely have been indicated by a gesture and the action in the following line, v.456, must have been opposite to the gesture, to account for Sceledrus' amazement at Philocomasium's perfidy, since she flees into Periplecomenus' house.

As has been also noted, the first real trick of the play, the twin-sister trick, is also carefully prepared, vv.237ff., i. e. Palaestrio instructs Periplecomenus how to coach Philocomasium. The coaching is done off the stage, but vv.354ff. condense it all over again as the girl appears to play her part. Provision is even made, vv.250ff., for possible incredulity on the part of the object of the deception and the possible need of evading proof as to the existence of the *soror gemina germana*.

Not content with the success of his plot when directed against the slave in these two tricks, Palaestrio directs his forces against the master, the *miles* himself,

vv.767f. . . . *nam ego inueni lepidam sycophantiam,*
 Qui admutiletur miles usque caesariatus, . . .

The plans have been carefully laid by the trickster, vv.612f., but are repeated,

- vv.906ff. Ac. Nempe ludificari militem tuorum uis? Pa. Exlocuta's.
 Ac. Lepide et sapienter, commode et facete res paratast.
 Pa. Atque huius uxorem † tu uolo adsimulari. Ac. Fiet.
 Pa. Quasi militi animum adieceris simulare. Ac. Sic futurumst.

for the benefit of the audience,—a plan to ensnare the affections of the *miles* by the charms of a new mistress, Acroteleutium, and thus to induce him to release Philocomasium, Act IV 3. The plan also involves the bait of Periplecomenus' house as a pretended dowry to the pretended wife, vv.1165ff., and the personation by Pleusicles of the *nauclerus*,

- vv.1176ff. Quom extemplo hoc erit factum, ubi intro haec abierit, ibi tu ilico
 Facito uti uenias ornatu huc ad nos nauclerico,

come to escort Philocomasium to the ship.

In all the tricks all the details are carefully outlined.⁵⁸ This is especially true of this main trick of the second part of the play, inasmuch as the trickster, Palaestrio, first carefully explains his plan, vv.770ff.; then the *meretrix* engaged by

58 Legrand: Daos, p.547—commenting on the pains often undramatic, taken to make things clear, says: "Il a voulu surtout être compris,—compris de la masse, des ἀσύνετοι ἀκροαταί comme des auditeurs intelligents."

Periplecomenus for the purpose is instructed by the latter in her part, vv.874ff., which involves a repetition of Palaestrio's plan, even to the part of the *ancilla* and the *anulus* in the deception.

v.796 Vt simulet se tuam esse uxorem et
deperire hunc militem:

cf. v.908f. Atque huius uxorem † to uolo ad-
simulari. Fiet
Quasi militi animum adieceris
simulare.

vv.797f. Quasique hunc anulum faueae suae
dederit eo parro mihi,
Militi ut darem: quasique ego rei
sim interpres

cf. v.910 Quasique ea res per me interpre-
tem et tuam ancillam eiecetur.

v.912 Quasique anulum hunc ancillula
tua abs te detulerit ad me.

Also it might be noted that the fact of the whole plan being a trick is again kept constantly before the audience, vv.938, 943,

. hodie hunc dolum dolamus
cf. Haud uereor ne nos subdola perfidia peruin-
camur.

Note too how Milphidippa announces her part in an aside to the audience,

vv.991f. Iamst ante aedis circus ubi sunt ludi
faciundi mihi.

Dissimulabo hos quasi non uideam
neque esse hic etiamdum sciam.

The additional plan of Pleusicles' personation of the *nauclerus* is likewise clearly outlined, vv.1175ff.

The execution of the tricks is no less definite than are the preparations and anticipation of them, in spite of the fact that Act II 6 marks quite definitely the conclusion of one trick, with the consequent dropping of the play which served as the model for that trick, and the assumption of a new plan from another original. The details of the twin-sister trick are carried out, as we have said, just as planned, vv.439ff., and the assumption upon which that trick is based, of the existence of a *soror gemina germana* is further confirmed by the testimony of Periplecomenus, vv.488ff.

So with the execution of the trickery of the second part of the play in Acts III and IV. All the plans for the trick are carried out, connecting them with the first part of the play by

v.975 Eius huc gemina uenit Ephesum et mater
accersuntque eam

mentioning the twin-sister, and

v.1089 Philocomasio dic, sist istic, domum ut
transeat:

implying the use of the secret passage. The *miles* is caught by the trick, v.1070, and Palaestrio is joyful over his success, v.1091; and with v.1135 Acroteleutium's share in the deception begins actively and is carried out as planned.

vv.1099ff. Aurum atque uestem muliebrem omnem habeat sibi,
 Quae illi instruxisti: sumat, habeat, auferat:
 Dicasque tempus maxume esse ut eat domum:
 Sororem geminam adesse et matrem dicito,
 Quibus concomita recte deueniat domum.

The *miles* falls in with the plot to get rid of the girl, cf.

vv.1145ff. Nam ipse miles concubinam intro abiit oratum suam,
 Ab se ut abeat cum sorore et matre Athenas. Pl. Eu, probe.
 Pa. Quin etiam aurum atque ornamenta quae ipse intruxit mulieri Omnia dat dono, a se ut abeat: ita ego consilium dedi

and his own ruin is imminent, vv.1150ff., which the end of the play brings as a reality, in the pretended anger of the pretended husband, to the undoing of the *miles*, vv.1420, 1433ff. In Act

IV 7 Pleusicles plays the rôle of the *pseudo-naucleus* as directed and carries off Philocomasium.

In other words, clearness and definiteness in the tricks themselves are not sacrificed nor affected by the combination of several tricks. It is merely the lack of motive for the twin-sister trick, since its carefully executed plans go for nothing, that justifies here an assumption of *contaminatio* in the composition of the play.⁵⁹ The connecting-links between the two parts, as for example the way in which the twin-sister trick and the secret passage are dragged into the second part of the play, are not skilfully enough welded together to conceal the joining and to effect unity in the play. No ambiguity, however, results from this passing from one deception to the other; and the motive for it seems to have been the playwright's desire⁶⁰ to include in the play as much of the comic element as possible, i. e. as much trickery as possible, since the planning and execution of trickery afford the chief comic element in the plays of Plautus.

That fact also, as we have assumed before, probably causes the disregard of time, noted here in the three-years' stay, v.350, compared with the short time required for the incidents mentioned in vv.121-124,⁶¹ or the disregard of versimilitude in Periplecomenus' orders shouted to his slaves

⁵⁹ Leo: Plaut. Forsch, p.180; J. Mesk in Wiener Studien, 1913, Part II; Lorenz: Ed. Introd. p.32.

⁶⁰ Brix-Niemeyer: Ed. Introd. p.14.

⁶¹ Langen: Plaut. Stud. p. 167; Brix: op. cit., note on v.350.

from the street; or the contradiction between Sceledrus' appearance in v.816 and his determination in v.586 to run away. In fact we would agree with Lorenz⁶² that it is in cases like these that Plautus shows his carelessness towards the requirements of dramatic action, as we consider them, and his disregard of minor and unessential details.

Mostellaria

The deception in the *Mostellaria* which springs entirely from sudden inspiration under stress of circumstances, but in no incomprehensible nor improbable manner,⁶³ passes from one step to the next, from one lie to another, as the trickster becomes more and more involved in difficulties. When Philolaches' easy, revelling ways are disturbed by the report of his father's imminent return, Tranio, the slave, promises to ward off the old man's possible interference by keeping him out of his own house,

vv.388ff. . . . Taceas: ego quo istaec sedem
 meditabor tibi.
 Satin habes, si ego aduenientem ita
 patrem faciam tuom
 Non modo ne intro eat, uerum etiam
 ut fugiat longe ab aedibus?
 Vos modo hinc abite intro atque haec
 hinc propere amolimini.

⁶² Op. cit. p.37.

⁶³ Lorenz: Ed. Introd. p.19.

He accomplishes that end by a lie, i. e. the story of the ghost haunting the house, vv.475ff.,

cf. v.531 Quid ego hodie negoti confeci mali.

vv.422f. Quin etiam illi hoc dicito:
Facturum, ut ne etiam aspicere aedis
audeat,
Capite obuoluto at fugiat cum summo metu

show that Tranio has the lie worked out although he does not state exactly what his plan is.

The arrival of a *danista* to claim the money loaned by him to Philolaches to ransom Philematium, vv.539f., forces Tranio to conceal the actual reason for the loan, so a second lie is invented,—the purchase of the neighbouring house, vv.637f. When Theopropides wishes to inspect his son's purchase,

v.674 Cupio hercle inspicere hasce aedis.

Tranio is again obliged

v.716 Quo dolo a me dolorem procul pellerem,
to invent a third lie in order to deceive the actual owner of the house, Theopropides' old friend Simo, as to the reason for the inspection,

vv.745ff. sed senex
Gynaecium aedificare uolt hic in suis
Et balneas et ambulacrum et porticum.

So far so good. But the arrival of some *advorsitores* to escort their young master, Callidamates, Philolaches' boon companion, home from his drunken revels, betrays the true state of affairs and the lies are all revealed,—the first in vv.959ff., the second in vv.977ff., the third, in vv.1010ff. And Theopropides duly acknowledges, v.1033 that he has been hoaxed.

Thus the plot works out clearly and logically in spite of a few incongruities which in no wise affect the progress of the trickery, such as Philematium's making her toilet on the public street, vv.248ff., the sort of scene which the exigencies of the ancient stage necessitated. The disappearance of Philematium from the play, contradicting the careful character painting of her in the toilet-scene shows how Plautus⁶⁴ pushed into the background the love affair of the hero in order to emphasize the character of the slave and thus to meet the demands of the public for amusement.

In this play the element of time is again disregarded in Tranio's tale of the ghost,⁶⁵ and the improbability that Theopropides, in spite of his exceptional *stultitia*, does not know a tale so intimately connected with his own house is overlooked by the poet. Inasmuch as the poet could have avoided these difficulties, the conclusion is evident that he did not care to. Greater carelessness is evident in the scene between Theopropides, Tranio, and the *danista*. The scene is im-

⁶⁴ Leo: Röm. Lit. pp.114; 117.

⁶⁵ Langen: Plaut. Stud. p.170.

probable and it is impossible to find a natural and satisfactory explanation for it.⁶⁶ Just as unsatisfactory is the explanation of Theopropides' ignorance of the plan of his neighbour's house and Tranio's escape from punishment at the end.

In a play like this in which the comic effect is gained largely⁶⁷ by improvised and unexpected turns of circumstance which necessitate continual change in plan and action, where Tranio with his clever superiority symbolizes this sort of comedy,—artful trickery triumphing over prosaic worldly wisdom,—such unessential points may justifiably be disregarded, as they are, by Plautus.

Persa.

Two lines of trickery are found in the *Persa*. Toxilus enlists the help of both Sagaristio, his fellow-slave, and Saturio, the parasite, to ransom his sweetheart, Lemniselenis, from a *leno*. He succeeds, but, as in the *Pseudolus*, there are loose ends in the thread of deception.

In Act I 1, having laid his dilemma before Sagaristio, and his need of money.

v.36 Vt mihi des nummos suscentos,

and having received his promise of help, he assures Sagaristio that he will await him at home,

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.171.

⁶⁷ Ritschl: *Opusc.* II p.740.

v.52 Vsque ero domi, dum excoxero lenoni †
malam.

But when the latter has hit upon the means whereby to secure the money, i. e. by stealing money which his master has given him to purchase some oxen in Eretria, vv.259ff., he meets the *puer* Paegnium with the question.

v.277 Vbi Toxilus est tuos erus?

which, though superfluous, is perfectly natural. The question introduces one of those digressions of which Plautus is fond, in which two characters abuse each other.

In Act II 5, Toxilus receives the money from Sagaristio and in Act III 2 arranges with the *leno*, after much bandying of words, for the release of Lemniselenis.

The second trick which is the chef d'œuvre of the comedy, though more involved, has not the many inconsistencies of the other plays; for the play, as Ritschl says,⁶⁸ has on the whole a very natural, uniform trend. The two tricks are, however, connected, e. g. the *leno* is made to pay the money which Toxilus will then pay back to Sagaristio, vv.324ff. The money secured by Sagaristio for Toxilus is necessary for the purchase of Toxilus' *amica* and is actually paid to Dordalus, v.437. They then get it back by tricking the *leno* through Lucris. Lemniselenis must

⁶⁸ Opusc. II p.749.

be secured before they trick the *leno*. The money, to be sure, is nowhere actually paid back by Sagaristio, but in vv.424f. Toxilus promises to repay, cf. vv.676ff. where Sagaristio is instructed to take the money secured from Dordalus to Toxilus' house; cf. also Sagaristio's jubilant bearing at the feast. The slaves paid 600 *nummi* for Lemniselenis, i. e. 1200 *drachmae* or 12 *minae*. Thus they had a handsome balance out of Dordalus' 60 *minae*. Perhaps the poet ought to say that the stolen money has been repaid, but it is not important.

Langen⁶⁹ points out inconsistencies in details, but none that concern the internal working-out of the trickery. Such repetition as occurs in vv.330ff., where Saturio says,

v.334 *Communicaui tecum consilia omnia*

and then proceeds to outline again all the plans, is as has been noted before, for the benefit of the audience.

The negotiations with the *leno* end in his buying Lucris, *suo periculo*, for 60 *minae*, the exorbitant price increasing the appearance of the deception played upon Dordalus, which terminates in the claim brought against the *leno* by Lucris' father, Act IV 7, and his threats to bring suit against him, v.746. Of the fate of the parasite and his daughter nothing is said, but it must be remembered that they were in Toxilus' power and were acting under his threat to cut off sup-

⁶⁹ Plaut. Stud. pp.175ff.

plies, vv.140ff; and the parasite always concerned about his eating, for the sake of which he entered into the bargain, v.146, has not even a share in the banquet which ends the play,—a banquet which has no *raison d'être* save for comic effect and a still further opportunity for the slaves to heap abuse and ridicule upon the *leno*.

Just as Philematium, in the *Mostellaria*, disappears from the play, so here the parasite and his daughter disappear after their duty is performed. This disappearance from the plays of various persons, who seem to be brought in merely to contribute their little share to the development of the plot and then to drop out of sight, is a noteworthy detail. Palinurus in the *Curculio* is such a character.⁷⁰ He is supplanted in the action by *Curculio*. Similarly the hired *fidicina* in the *Epidicus*, Callipho in the *Pseudolus*, and as just mentioned, Philematium in the *Mostellaria*, disappear. In other words it would seem as if the poet did not care about unity in personnel any more than he did about unity in action.⁷¹ So long as the deception moved along a course which afforded amusing situations for the entertainment of the audience the purpose of the play seems to have been attained.

The psychological improbabilities in the character drawing of the parasite and his daughter,

⁷⁰ Leo: *Plaut. Forsch.* p.197, n.1.

⁷¹ H. W. Prescott: *The Interpretation of Roman Comedy, Class. Phil. XI No. 2, April 1916, pp.128-135.*

noted by Langen,⁷² do not affect the trickery, nor do the poor business methods of the *leno*, except, as we have said, that the higher the price of the girl the greater the impression of the success of the trickster, who fools him into paying it. The other details mentioned by Langen are minor points and the discrepancies connected with them would easily escape an auditor, if not a careful reader, of the play.

Poenulus

The prologue of the *Poenulus* in outlining the plot of the play refers merely to the anagnorisis, not to the plot of trickery, vv.121f. It belongs therefore to only one of the two plays which are combined to make the Plautine comedy,—that is, the *Poenulus* is one of the "contaminated" plays,⁷³ though scholars will never agree as to the original Greek elements and the Plautine elements in the play. The comedy contains two tricks against the *leno*, combined, as Langen maintains,⁷⁴ and as we have held for the complexity of the trickery in other comedies, to bring more life into the play and to increase the comic effect, regardless of the inconsistencies resulting from the union.

⁷² Plaut. Stud. pp.175f.

⁷³ Leo: Plaut. Forsch. pp. 170ff.; Langen: Plaut. Stud. pp.181ff.; Wilamowitz in the Neue Jahrb. 1899, p.519; Karsten in Mnemos, 1901, pp. 363ff.; Legrand in Rev. d.et.gr. 1903, p.358; Jachmann. *Χάριτες* 1911. pp.249ff.; opposed by Goetz, ind. lect. Jena, 1883.

⁷⁴ Op. cit. p.182.

The first plan consists in involving the *leno* in a law-suit, vv.175ff., 184ff., for accepting stolen money from a slave.⁷⁵ Collabiscus is to be primed to take the part of the slave,

vv.194f. Abeamus intro, ut Collabiscum uilicum
Hanc perdoceamus ut ferat fallaciam,

and witnesses, *advocati*, for the trial are also engaged, vv.424, 447, 506. Collabiscus is engaged and given the money, vv.415f., and all are ready and primed for their duties,

vv.576f. Euge opportune egrediuntur Milphio
una et uilicus.
Basilice exornatus cedit et fabre ad
fallaciam.

cf. vv.557ff., where for clearness the whole trick is rehearsed.

The action starts in earnest in Act III 3 and the money is handed over to the *leno*, vv.713., which he accepts to his undoing,

vv.726f. Em istaec uolo ergo uos commemnis
omnia
Mox quom ad praetorem usus ueniet,

and the trial is to come off on the next day, v.800.

⁷⁵ The money is supposed to have been stolen from the slave's master.

But the whole trick is purposeless,⁷⁶ and Milphio, the *architectus doli*, in inexplicable ignorance of the outcome of his plots, starts out upon a second trick,

vv.817f. Exspecto, quo pacto meae techinae
processurae sient.

Studeo hunc lenonem perdere:

to cheat the *leno* of his property, vv.894ff., on the ground that the girls in whose interests he and his master are working are free-born Carthaginians, v.900.

Hanno, the Poenus, arrives opportunely and is engaged to help along the trick by passing himself off as the father of the girls, vv.1099ff. The pretense turns out to be a fact, Act V 4, when Hanno recognizes the girls, v.1256, and the *leno* is to receive his due reward,

v.1343 In ius te uoco.

The question of double or triple ending does not affect the deception and the methods of its accomplishment.

As we have already noted, most of the inconsistencies and loose ends in the two tricks are due to the fact that the play is "contaminated". To that cause are likewise due the contradictions in the characterization, especially of the two girls,⁷⁷ cf. the *virgo* in the *Persa*. In

⁷⁶ Leo: Plaut. Forsch. p. 172; Teuffel: Stud. u. Char. p.337f.

⁷⁷ Langen: op. cit. pp.182ff.

this play also is found haste contradicted by delay, vv.317ff. As Langen shows,⁷⁸ disagreeing with Goetz's rejection of vv.330-408 as un-Plautine,⁷⁹ and as we have noted in regard to the other plays in which this same detail occurs, Plautus desired to entertain and amuse his audience rather than to take into consideration the laws of dramatic art.

Most of the other inconsistencies noted by Langen concern details in the final anagnorisis and need not be considered here. Suffice it to say that in the *Poenulus*, as in the *Miles*, in spite of the rather loose combination of two plots, the progress of the deception is always clearly and definitely worked out.

Pseudolus

All the interest of the *Pseudolus* is concentrated upon the clever slave who gives the name to the play,⁸⁰ from the very beginning when, v.19, 105ff., he offers his help to his young master, Calidorus, in his efforts to release Phoenicium from the *leno*, Ballio, till the end when the method used to attain that object, i. e. personation, is disclosed by the appearance of the real Harpax. The chief beauty of the play lies in the fact that the rogue warns his intended victims, vv.382, 510f., but in spite of warnings they are cheated. The *leno* is, of course, the

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 193.

⁷⁹ Act. soc. phil. Lips. VI p. 313, cited by Langen.

⁸⁰ Schanz: I. Müller's Handbuch, VIII I 1, p.85.

chief enemy against whom the artifices of Pseudolus are directed, vv.233, 382, 526ff., and in addition to the constant threats against the *leno*, throughout the play, and the general attitude characteristic of comedy of hostility against the *leno* as the villain of the piece,

v.905 di immortales
 uolunt esse et lenonem ex-
 tinctum

prepares the audience for the final discomfiture of Ballio.

But Pseudolus plans to approach the old man Simo, Calidorus' father, for the needed money, v.120, if other sources fail, even though when the *leno* suggests such a possibility, Pseudolus, assuming a virtue which he does not have, indignantly objects, v.288. Upon Ballio's persistence in adhering to a "spot-cash" bargain, Pseudolus utters his direct threat against him, v.382, and bids Calidorus, v.385, 389, furnish him with an assistant.

From all this planning and threatening on the part of Pseudolus, the audience would infer that he has his plans definitely laid out. So the monologue in Act I 4 comes as a surprise, especially

vv.397 Quoi neque paratast gutta certi con-
 sili.

106f. Atque id futurum unde unde dicam
 nescio,
 Nisi quia futurumst:

That he was actually plotting against his old master, though with no definite plan in mind, notwithstanding his pretended scorn of Ballio's suggestion, is revealed again here, vv.407, as is also the fact that Simo has heard of the slave's intentions, vv.408, 426. Yet in spite of that discovery, the slave is still confident of success, vv.412f., and warns Simo to beware of him, vv.510ff., the repetition of the warning heightening the comic effect as well as anticipating the actual accomplishment of the trickery. Pseudolus admits that he was preparing to get money from Simo, vv.485ff., but since his intentions are known he insists that Simo shall give it, vv.508, 510, 518, cf. v.530.

The necessity of carrying out this threat reminds Pseudolus of the trick against Ballio which he must accomplish, vv.524f. He seizes upon Simo's interest, indicated by his question,

v.526 *Quam pugnam?*

to unite his forces and to settle both promises at once. In securing the money by the bet, on the part of Simo, trickery is not necessarily implied. But against Ballio trickery is implied.⁸¹ The difficulties inherent in Pseudolus' plan and their possible cause, i. e. *contaminatio*, will be discussed later.

Simo's attitude here may seem inconsistent to some, who hold that the old man too easily takes up the bet. Simo is merely cocksure. It may

⁸¹ Lorenz: Pseudolus, ed. Introd. pp.19ff.

be that Plautus has merely followed that trend of comedy mentioned before, of making the *leno* the butt of all classes; and the old man's attention is turned aside from his personal difficulties and danger, and with an old man's forgetfulness and desire to get ahead of someone else he takes up the wager. He has, too, sporting blood in him, cf. his bet with Ballio, when his suspicions of collusion between Pseudolus and the *leno* against himself, vv.539ff., suggest to him his bargain with the *leno* against Pseudolus, vv.869ff., cf. vv.1070ff. At least it prepares the audience for that wager when Ballio, exultant in his belief that Simo's warnings to him to beware of Pseudolus have been needless, takes up Simo's offer. (It might be noted that with this wager Simo is again brought into the play, after three acts in which the action centres only in the tricks against the *leno*.) In other words the wager makes only one trick necessary.

Already in the beginning of the play, as has been noted above, Pseudolus had realized the difficulty of his position and had sent Calidorus to get some assistant, v.385. Now under still greater stress of circumstances Pseudolus enlists the help of Callipho, v.547. But when chance, Τύχη, intervenes to bring Harpax, the agent of the *miles*, who intends to claim Phoenicium by making the final payment due the *leno*, new difficulties arise,

v.601 Nouo consilio nunc mihi opus est: noua
res haec subito mi obiectast.

. . . illa omnia missa habeo quae ante
agere occepi.

v.614 procudam ego hodie hinc multos
dolos.

cf. vv.672ff., which however bring with them the opportunity of deceiving three people, vv.691, 705a.

Harpax' arrival is prepared for both by Phoenicium's letter, vv.51ff., with her statement of the impending sale and the details coincident with it, the *symbolus*, letter, etc., and again by the *leno's* account of the sale, v.346, and his anticipation of the payment of the money that day, v.373. Harpax upon his arrival, by his first words, v.598, meets the requirements of that preparation. This is a good illustration of the way in which Plautus is generally careful to make all the details of his trickery clear, both in preparation and in execution. This fact will be discussed at greater length at the end of the analysis of this play, in a summary of the repetitions for clearness which occur in the play.

Pseudolus' determination to carry out his plot somehow, vv.567f., results in definite plans, vv.579ff., which have to be relinquished vv.601ff., upon the arrival of Harpax. But his apparent unpreparedness adds to the comic and dramatic effect of the plan, vv.601f., which occurs to the clever slave upon his meeting with Harpax. A somewhat similar situation is found in the Asi-

naria,⁸² where the appearance of the *mercator* suggests at once to Leonida his plan of personation. In the *Pseudolus*, to be sure, there is a double personation,—of Ballio's chief slave by *Pseudolus*, vv.609, and of Harpax by Simia. Here *Pseudolus* partially convinces Harpax, by his knowledge of the latter's business, cf. vv.616ff. which repeat again the information given to the audience in *Phoenicium's* letter, and by Ballio himself; and Harpax, though refusing to give the money, hands over that which, like the *miles'* ring in the *Curculio*, is of more value for the trickster's purpose than money,—i. e. the *symbolus*, vv.647. Harpax retires to an inn to await Ballio's pleasure, while *Pseudolus* makes use of his lucky turn, vv.669f. He realizes that money and proof are now within his power, v.671. All that he needs is some "canny" assistant, vv.724ff. While outlining his new plan to Calidorus, vv.725ff., of the personation of Harpax, *Pseudolus* accepts Charinus' offer of Simia as an assistant, and money; and he is now sure of his bet, vv.731ff. He goes off to the forum to engage Simia's services, vv.764f., and to instruct him as to his duties.

That instruction is given off the stage, v.941, but the audience has been told, vv.725ff., and Simia upon his appearance in Act IV understands his rôle. That Ballio is the object of all their intrigue is clear from the dialogue between Simia and *Pseudolus*, Act IV 1, and from Act IV

82 cf. Terence: *Phormio*.

2, where the appearance of the *leno* gives the plotters the opportunity of playing their trick upon him. The plans are carried out and Pseudolus is successful in his abduction of Phoenicium, vv.1052ff. Callipho's help is not used as it had not been required and so had been dropped. (Note Pseudolus' aside in vv.984f., which indicates a point overlooked in the plans for the personation,—i. e. the name of the *miles*. Simia is clever enough to evade the danger by making Ballio himself supply the name. The mere fact of Pseudolus' dismay at the omission intimates that all details necessary for the execution of trickery were, as a rule, carefully indicated. The meeting of such a crisis is, however, a common device to display the trickster's resourcefulness.)

The *leno*, confident in his apparent escape from any possible plot against himself on the part of Pseudolus, now that he has delivered Phoenicium presumably to Harpax, readily takes up Simo's wager, before mentioned. With the arrival of Simo upon the scene, v.1063, the solution of Pseudolus' plots against him is introduced and the appearance of the real Harpax, who offers the money which he had brought from the *miles*, discloses Pseudolus' stratagems, Act IV 7, v.1213, whereby Ballio has been cheated of the girl and the purchase-money which he has to return to the real Harpax, v.1183, and of the wager to Simo.

Simo himself prepares, vv.1241f., to pay his own wager to Pseudolus, which the slave claims for his successful accomplishment of all his plots,

v.1312, but which he consents finally to share with his master, vv.1328f.

Repetition as a means of obtaining clearness in the details of trickery has been mentioned above. This is especially noteworthy in the details of the sale of Phoenicium to the *miles*. As has been stated, they are first given by Phoenicium herself in her letter to her lover, vv.51ff. The *leno* repeats them when he informs Calidorus that he has disposed of the girl, vv.342ff. When Pseudolus meets Harpax and inquires into his business, vv.616ff., the details are again minutely given, as they are also when Pseudolus reports to his master his success in obtaining the *symbolus* and letter from the *miles'* messenger, Harpax, vv.716ff. Again when Simia plays his rôle of pseudo-Harpax, vv.994ff., all the details are again rehearsed, as they are when Ballio reports to Simo, vv.1091ff., how he has presumably outwitted Pseudolus. Finally when the real Harpax turns up to carry out his master's injunctions, vv.1122ff., the same details are once more outlined. In other words, Plautus keeps constantly before the audience the thread of trickery.

In similar fashion the fact that Pseudolus is the trickster is kept before the audience, from his first offer to help his young master, v.19, and the reiteration of indefinite help, vv.79, 104, 118ff., to his general threat to everyone to beware of him, vv.125ff. Again in v.232 his assurance to Calidorus is repeated, as is his promise to the *leno* for his master in vv.316f. And the identity of Pseudolus is clearly kept before the audience,

in addition to the evident relations existing between him and Calidorus, by Simo's explanation to his friend Callipho, vv.445ff., and by Calidorus' to his friend Charinus, vv.700ff.

One other repetition may be noted—the sum of money needed by Calidorus to meet the *leno's* demands,—20 *minae*, vv.52, 113, 114, 117, 280, 344, 404, 412, 484, 1070.

Repetition then is one of the means whereby Plautus gains clearness of plan and execution in trickery. It is in fact the most important point in a study of the technique of trickery in the Plautine comedies.

Such care being therefore evidently a characteristic of Plautus' methods where important details are concerned, wherever the opposite occurs, as in the two requests to Calidorus for an assistant,⁸³ and in the disappearance of Callipho,⁸⁴ when his help had been quite evidently enlisted, some explanation must be found. *Contaminatio* has been adopted as the explanation by Langen and Lorenz, but another more natural one is possible. Calidorus brings Charinus, who does not answer well to

v.385 Ad eam rem usust hominem astutum
doctum, cautum et callidum,

but fits vv.390ff.

⁸³ Langen: Plaut. Stud. p.203.

⁸⁴ Ibid. p.202; Lorenz: Pseudolus, ed. Introd. p.20.

Pauci ex multis sunt amici, homini qui
certi sient.

Ps. Ego scio istuc: ergo utrumque tibi
nunc dilectum para

Atque ex multis exquire illis unum qui
certus siet.

At v.385 Pseudolus apparently has in mind a fellow of the tricky type, but we must remember that he has as yet no definite plans and he does not know Charinus, cf. v.699. Moreover, he agrees with Calidorus' intention to bring a friend, vv.390ff. When Calidorus and Charinus appear, Pseudolus has already begun his real trick and knows exactly the kind of a helper he needs, vv.725ff., and Charinus furnishes Simia. There is no serious defect here. It is indeed not hard to assume that Pseudolus expected the friend, Charinus, to be able to help him more directly, but since his plan has become definite, the type of assistant needed has changed.

As for Callipho, his help also was enlisted at the time when Pseudolus did not know what he was going to do. Indeed the statement that Callipho will remain at home ready to help, if needed, is a good motivation of his absence during the rest of the play.⁸⁵ Callipho's part is really played in the one scene. The reason for Callipho's disappearance may be more easily discovered if it is compared with the disappearance of similar characters, as of Apocides in the Epi-

⁸⁵ cf. Sosia in Terence's *Andria*, first scene, end.

dicus, of the parasite and the *virgo* in the *Persa*, of Libanus in the *Asinaria*, of Palinurus in the *Curculio*, of Philematium in the *Mostellaria*, which was discussed above. All these characters drop out of the plays when their contribution to the progress of the plot has been made. So there is no reason to attribute that disappearance to *contaminatio* as Langen does.⁸⁸

Langen's⁸⁷ (and Lorenz's⁸⁸) objection to the tardiness of Calidorus' revelation of his difficulties to his confidential slave, vv.16f., when all the city knows of them, vv.418ff., can be met by the requirements of the play, in that the revelation is made for the information of the audience through this expository scene. The fact that the letter in Act I 1, vv.51ff., belongs to the exposition of the plot against the *leno* and so has no integral connection with the scene in which it stands, inasmuch as that entire scene belongs really to the plot against the father, may be, as Leo has pointed out,⁸⁹ an indication of *contaminatio*. But if the *Pseudolus* is "contaminated", Plautus has done the work so well that no satisfactory proof of *contaminatio* has as yet been adduced. The reference to "touching" the old man Simo may be merely a jest. At any rate the play contains no trick against Simo.

No connection with the plot of deception is evident in the inconsistencies of Ballio's orders

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.198.

⁸⁸ Op. cit., p.25.

⁸⁹ G. G. N. 1903, pp. 347ff.

given to his household from the street, vv.155ff.,⁹⁰ especially to Phoenicium, who already sold to the *miles* should be regarded as released from such orders on the part of the *leno*; in the relative positions on the stage of Pseudolus and Ballio in vv.243ff.; in Ballio's haste contradicted by his tarrying to argue with Calidorus, vv.250ff.; in Pseudolus' appearance in Act V. from a drunken revel; in the slave's exaggerated jubilation at his victory over Simo at the end, and the inconsistent treatment of the master by his slave.⁹¹

The contradiction between Harpax' willingness to give Pseudolus the letter and symbol, when he has refused the money, which is not nearly so important,⁹² is explained by the necessities of the plot. Moreover, the money seems more important to Harpax, and probably to the audience, since he has been convinced that Pseudolus is Ballio's slave and cannot know that Pseudolus will misuse the *symbolus*, etc. For the accomplishment of his trick Pseudolus needed the letter and the seal, hence Plautus' disregard of plausibility in the method of obtaining them.

The complications arising in vv.524ff., are hard to explain, where Pseudolus plans,⁹³ first to outwit the *leno*, then to get money from Simo, when Simo offers to give him the money if he accomplishes both, his offer thus pre-supposing Pseu-

⁹⁰ Langen: op. cit. p.199.

⁹¹ Legrand: Daos, p.403.

⁹² Langen: op. cit. pp.202ff.

⁹³ Leo: G. G. N. 1903, p.350; Langen: op. cit. pp.201f.

dolus' obtaining the money from himself. Leo⁹⁴ attributed them to *contaminatio*, i. e. to an unsuccessful attempt to combine two tricks from two plays, one with a plot of the confounding of the *leno*, the other of the befooling of the *senex*. This passage is certainly not clear. Pseudolus will first cheat Ballio out of the girl; second, apparently cheat Simo out of the money; third, win a bet, i. e. money, from Simo if he accomplishes the first and second. But again we have to remember that Harpax' arrival and Charinus' aid provide Pseudolus with the necessary money for the first, and that he abandoned any plan he may have had against Simo. Nevertheless, the bet is paid because Pseudolus has accomplished only one of his promises. Perhaps we have not a case of *contaminatio*, but Plautus has simply cut out the trick against Simo and neglected to change vv.507ff., especially v.529 sufficiently. Bierma⁹⁵ attributes such carelessness in composition to the nature and genius of the playwright and to the uncritical nature of the audience, an explanation to which we have had occasion to refer before. This fact also explains partially the difference between the plays of Plautus and Terence.

To the many weaknesses in the intrigue of this play Lorenz⁹⁶ would attribute the fact of the few imitations of it in later times. It is quite evident from our discussion that the plot does not move

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Quaestiones de Plautina Pseudolo, Groningen, 1897, pp.34ff.

⁹⁶ Pseudolus, ed. Introd. p.30 note 30.

as smoothly as in some of the other comedies. But it certainly is more successful than the clearly "contaminated" play, the *Miles*.

Trinummus.

The *thensaurus* about which the stratagem of Megaronides and Callicles is planned is first mentioned in

v.150 Thensaurum demonstraui mihi in hisce
aedibus,

cf. vv.158f. Callicles states his reason for purchasing the house,—to save the treasure for a possible dowry for his ward, vv.179f. The need arises, vv.374f., which Lesbonicus, the girl's brother, tries to meet, vv.508f., but he fails and finally agrees to give his sister to his friend, *sine dote*, v.693. Callicles, their guardian, does not like this bargain, v.612, but cannot tell Lesbonicus about the treasure.

The first part of the play, then, up to Act III, is a mere family plot, with no intrigue. The guardian's desire to supply his ward with the needed dowry leads him finally to consult his friend Megronides. Between them they evolve a plan, vv.765ff., of hiring someone,—i. e. personation,—to bring a message supposedly from the girl's father, vv.770ff., and money for a dowry, vv.778f., which shall in reality be the *thensaurus*, vv.782ff., unearthed for the purpose by Callicles, without arousing the young man's suspicions,

vv.784ff. Suspicionem ab adolescente amoueris.
 Censebit aurum esse a patre allatum
 tibi:
 Tu de thensauo sumes.

The speeches of the *sycophanta*, vv.852ff., show that the ruse made by the strategists is carried out in all its details, but its success is thwarted by the unexpected return of the father himself. The fact of the deception is emphasized also by the agent,

v.867 Apud illas aedis sistendae mihi sunt sycophantiae,

all of the details of which are repeated, vv.955ff., in the sycophant's revelation to Charmides, the father. An explanation follows, vv.1100ff., when the old men meet.

In this play appear improbabilities like those found in the plays already treated,—the consultation about the secret treasure in the open street,⁹⁷ Charmides' deflection from an immediate entrance into his own house, after hearing the sycophant's business, to satisfy his curiosity about a man running down the street; Stasimus' long monologue, vv.1009ff., in spite of his apparent hurry. These are all details of minor importance and of the sort generally treated carelessly by Plautus. As to the difficulties attendant upon Callicles' appropriation of the hidden treasure for the girl's dowry,⁹⁸ and his evi-

⁹⁷ Langen: Plaut. Stud. pp.219f.

⁹⁸ Ibid.: pp.227ff.; Brix: ed. note on v.755.

dent readiness to dig it up and use it in carrying out his trick when formerly fear of discovery of such an act on his part by Lesbonicus had prevented such appropriation,—these present just the sort of inconsistencies which the poet is always ready to overlook for the sake of the trick which he is working out. The details regarding Lesbonicus' dwelling, after his sale of his parental home, and the neighbour Philto's inquiry, implying as it does ignorance of a fact which one would expect a neighbour to know, do not concern the progress of the plot of deception. Moreover, such apparently essential facts are frequently neglected by Plautus, cf., the ignorance on the part of Theopropides, in the *Mostellaria*, of the arrangement of his friend Simo's house.

Amphitruo

The plot of the *Amphitruo* like that of the *Captivi* rests upon an exchange of rôles.⁹⁹ And as Mercury foretells in the prologue, vv.54f., 59, comedy and tragedy combine in the play, though the amusing situations predominate. Mercury also carefully explains all the details of Jupiter's personation of Amphitruo and his own of the slave Sosia, so that the audience may appreciate the ensuing complications. The action starts at once upon the meeting of Sosia and Mercury, the pseudo-Sosia, in Act I 1, when Mercury tries the effect of his disguise

⁹⁹ cf. the *Eunuchus* of Terence.

upon his counterpart, v.265. Mercury succeeds in evicting Sosia, in Jupiter's interests, vv.463ff.

Jupiter's assumption of the person of Amphitruo is proved by the goblet which he gives to Alcumena in Act I 3 and which causes so much confusion later, vv.731ff., 780, 792. In Act III 1, Jupiter states, as Mercury did in the prologue, his ability to change his identity at will, v.864, and promises a final clearing-up of all the difficulties, vv.876ff. That explanation occurs in vv.1085ff.

The Amphitruo might be called the complement of the Menaechmi, inasmuch as it depicts intentional confusion arising from the assumption of co-identity, whereas that in the Menaechmi depends upon unconscious similarity.

None of the difficulties cited by Langen¹⁰⁰ prevents a complete understanding of the plot. The course of the deception is clearly outlined beforehand, in the prologue, and is assisted by the many repetitions and explanations to a final successful close.¹⁰¹

C. *Special Details*

Under this heading may be grouped such details as have already received some consideration

¹⁰⁰ Op. cit. pp. 91ff.

¹⁰¹ The Amphitruo has been placed last in the analysis of the plays with the view of merely summing up the play, inasmuch as it differs from the other plays both in the nature of the plot and in the characters. But in technique of deception it is similar to the other plays in which personation is used.

in the discussion of the object and nature of deception or of the methods whereby that deception is carried out. But the recurrence of them in several plays, as for example the intervention of Τύχη, discussed above,¹ or the uniqueness of a certain feature as the absence of women from the *Captivi*, renders a summary of them at this point desirable.

(1) Chance—Τύχη—as a force to be reckoned with in the plays has already been discussed. It will suffice then here merely to mention the four plays in which it intervenes in an important manner, the *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, *Poenulus* and *Pseudolus*. (Chance is constantly a minor feature in all drama.)

(2) *Anagnorisis*—the recognition-scene, which as will be seen later is derived from tragedy and especially from Euripides, is the ending of the *Captivi*, *Casina*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Menaechmi* and *Poenulus*. Of the plays in which the chief interest is not centered in the trickery, the *Rudens* and the *Cistellaria*² also end with an *anagnorisis*, as did also the *Vidularia* probably. Here it is possible to see Plautus' adherence to a feature popular among his predecessors in spite of his more frequent departure from the norm set by them. The connection of this feature with the plot of deception is made usually by a dis-

¹ cf. II B 4 above, pp.40-43.

² Leo: *Plaut. Forsch.* pp.158f.

closure of the plans of the trickster, as in the *Poenulus* and the *Epidicus*, when a recognition between the persons involved in those plans leads to an explanation of the situation in which they severally find themselves.

(3) Banquet-scenes—occur in the *Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Persa*, and *Stichus*, as has already been noted, either as an integral part of the play or as an additional feature at the close included for comic or dramatic effect.

(4) Absence of women.

The prologue of *Captivi* presents as a proof of the superiority of the play the absence of some characters which play so large a part in the other comedies,

vv.54ff. *Profecto expediet fabulae huic operam
dare:
Non pertractate factast neque item ut
ceterae,
Neque spurcidici insunt uersus im-
memorabiles:
Hic neque periurus lenost nec mere-
trix mala
Neque miles gloriosus.*

In a way this might also be said of the *Trinummus*. But the latter play contains that romantic situation from which the *Captivi* is free. And this situation, though the girl does not appear in

person in the play, controls the action to a large extent.

The other details to be considered concern the trickery more closely than those just mentioned.

(5) Warnings

As a preparation for the deception, several of the plays contain warnings of various sorts, delivered to the person concerned or indefinitely. Such warnings are issued in the *Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Curculio*, *Miles*, *Poenulus*, and *Pseudolus*.³

Asinaria, indefinite and spoken,

vv.118f. Non esse seruos peior hoc quisquam
potest
Nec magis uorsutus nec quo ab caueas
aegrius.

Miles, against *Sceledrus* and spoken,

vv.295f. Nam tibi iam ut pereas paratumst
dupliciter, nisi suppressis
Tuom stultiloquium.

Pseudolus, indefinite and spoken,

vv.127f. Omnibus amicis notisque edico meis,
In hunc diem a me ut caueant, ne
credant mihi.

³ cf. Terence: *Andria*, v.205.

against Simo

vv.517f. Praedico, ut caeueas: dico, inquam, ut
caueas: caue:
Em istis mihi tu hodie manibus argen-
tum dabis.

Bacchides, to Nicobolus, by a letter, vv.734ff.

Poenulus, to Lycus the *leno*, by an oracle,

vv.463ff. Condigne haruspex, non homo trio-
boli,
Omnibus in extis aiebat portendi mihi
Malum damnumque et deos esse ira-
tos mihi.

Curculio, to Cappadox the *leno*, by a dream,

vv.270ff. pacem ab Aesculapio
Petas, ne forte tibi eueniat magnum
malum,
Quod in quiete tibi portentumst.

Dreams also foreshadow coming events in the *Miles* as well as in the *Mercator* and the *Rudens*.⁴ As Leo points out, the presence of the dream motive in the plays is explained on very much the same principle as that of the *anagnorisis*, inasmuch as it is a feature characteristic of tragedy as well as of New Comedy. It may be combined with the *anagnorisis*, then, to prove a connection between Plautus and the Greek.

⁴ Leo; Plaut. Forsch. pp.162ff.

(6) Futility of trickery

The apparent futility of some of the tricks and the abandonment of them for others is characteristic of some of the plays, as the *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, *Persa*, *Miles*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, and the *Trinummus*. Such abandonment of plans is caused either by some act, unanticipated by the audience, on the part of one of the characters, as the returning of all the money by *Mnesilochus* in the *Bacchides*, or the arrival of the father in the *Trinummus*; or by the careless uniting of two plots, as in the "contaminated" plays, the *Miles* and the *Poenulus*. This has been considered in the discussion of *contaminatio* in the various plays.

(7) Disappearance of characters

As this has been discussed at some length above⁵ it need merely be mentioned here.

From this summary it seems evident, therefore, that Plautus had a stock of scenes and motives on hand which he mingled at will with the plot of deception, for which they were to serve as embellishment and expansion. Or the reverse may be true, that deception was inserted in plays of varying situation and plot. This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. Only the more unusual details have been selected for consideration.

⁵ cf. under the *Persa*, in III B, p.116.

A collection of the more common motives, such as scenes including cooks, parasites and the like, would only strengthen the deduction drawn from the present list.

From all three points of view then,—methods, plan, and extraneous detail,—a study of the technique of the comedies of Plautus leads to the conclusion that deception was the chief interest. Especially throughout the analysis of the plan and action involved in the performance of the deception I have endeavoured in each play to indicate to what extent Plautus was careful to attain unity and plausibility, and in what details he apparently considered such care unnecessary. That clearness of plot was gained, as has been seen, by carefully planned and executed purpose, achieved by constant repetition⁶ of the details of that plan and by asides⁷ on the part of the characters, either in self-addressed monologue, anticipating or commenting upon the progress of the deception, or in dialogue spurring each other on to carry out the trick in hand. As Legrand says,⁸ Plautus wished everything to be clearly understood by even the most ignorant auditor.

Details unessential to the plot of deception were frequently disregarded: the element of time⁹ in the *Bacchides*, *Asinaria*, *Captivi*, *Casina*,

⁶ cf. under the *Pseudolus*, *Miles* and *Menaechmi*, in III B.

⁷ cf. under the *Captivi*, in III B, pp.77ff.

⁸ *Daos*: p.547.

⁹ cf. under the *Bacchides*, in III B, p.66f.

Curculio, Miles, Mostellaria; haste contradicted by delay¹⁰ for mirth-provoking wrangling and argument in the *Asinaria*, *Captivi*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Trinummus*; discrepancies in characterization in the *Asinaria*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Pseudolus*; the apparent ignorance of some fact important for the progress of the action, when that ignorance adds to the comic effect, in the *Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Captivi*, *Menaechmi*, *Mercator*, *Mostellaria*, *Trinummus*; ignorance in money matters¹¹ or contradictions in the price demanded in the *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Mercator*, *Persa*; minor details of action which are not vital to the main course of the trickery and hence are unmotivated, since they are not used,¹² in the *Asinaria*, *Casina*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Miles*, *Persa*; disappearance of characters¹³ in the *Curculio*, *Epidicus*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Pseudolus*. These together with the particular cases of "psychological improbability"¹⁴ noted under each play and with the contradictions appearing sporadically, but of the same general nature as those shared in common with several of the plays, justify our conclusion that the playwright paid little heed to consistency in unessential details.

10 When not otherwise indicated the details summarized above have been mentioned in each play as they occurred.

11 cf. under the *Curculio*, in III B, p.88f.

12 cf. under the *Casina*, in III B, p.83f.

13 cf. under the *Persa*, in III B, p.116f.

14 cf. under the *Asinaria*, in III B, pp.74f.

In a single rendering of a play before an audience whose only desire was to be entertained, most discrepancies in plot would pass unnoticed. And inasmuch as the inconsistencies in no instance affect vitally the progress of the trickery, it is all the more important that we bear in mind that Plautus wrote his plays "to make a Roman holiday" and not to bear the microscopic analysis of literary criticism. Under such circumstances we might expect the emphasis to be laid upon the effect rather than upon the method, upon the burlesque details rather than upon the technique of the plot. And this seems to be the case. With the attention of the playwright focussed upon that dramatic effect, lack of proportion in other details, inconsistencies and the like, either escaped the notice of the audience or were considered of no importance. Whence the idea for such centralization arose, what forces combined to shape it,—i. e. the sources of deception in comedy,—and how far the present form of the comedies represents the original Plautine tradition,—i. e. the relation of the plays to the Greek models and especially the question of *contaminatio* and of *retractatio*,—remains still to be considered.

CHAPTER IV

APPLICATION OF FACTS TO HIGHER CRITICISM *Contaminatio and Retractatio*

ONE of the most valuable results of the foregoing study and analysis of the element of deception in the comedies of Plautus may be attained by the application of the conclusions drawn to the difficulties of higher criticism—i. e. to the solution of problems connected with *contaminatio* and *retractatio*. Inasmuch as *contaminatio* is Plautine, our object is to determine whether Plautus' method is essentially different in his treatment of deception in the "contaminated" and the uncontaminated plays and whether some light may be thrown upon the plays still in doubt, as the *Bacchides*, *Epidicus*, and *Pseudolus*. In other words, how far do abnormalities support or refute *contaminatio* or *retractatio*; for some of the abnormalities may be attributable to the latter.

Retractatio will necessarily claim the chief consideration in this section; for, as has just been noted, *contaminatio* is Plautine, and because of that fact has already been discussed in the foregoing study of the dropped threads, inconsistencies and the like, in the analysis of each play.¹ That consideration brought us to the conclusion

¹ cf. under section III B.

that Plautus' methods were haphazard and careless in the treatment of unessential details. Intent upon the plot of deception, as seems quite clear from our comparison of the plays, Plautus neglected no details absolutely indispensable to an understanding of that plot either in plan or in action. Where obscurity is apparent in the plot of deception, as in the *Epidicus*, which is the only play in which obscurities enter to such a marked degree, it has seemed justifiable, in view of the general adherence of most of the plays to a certain norm, to consider such obscurity as due to later reworking of the play,—i. e. to *retractatio*.

Moreover, the analysis of the comedies has shown a great deal of uniformity² in the sort of ambiguities and inconsistencies which occur in both the contaminated plays, e. g. the *Miles* and the *Poenulus*, and the uncontaminated, like the *Mostellaria* and the *Trinummus*. Inasmuch as the same sort of contradictions, e. g. discrepancies in character portrayal, motiveless action, etc., occur in those plays still *sub indice*, like the *Bacchides*, it is clear that too hasty conclusions must not be drawn from such occurrences as a basis for proof of *contaminatio*. This "work of the Danaïds", as Lindsay styles it,³ is not solved so easily.

Let us take the arguments *pro* and *con* for *contaminatio* in the *Bacchides* just mentioned as

² cf. summary of section III, pp.142ff.

³ Bunsian's *Jahresbericht*, Vol. 166-169, 1914, Part II p.18.

an illustration of the difficulty of arriving at a decision in the matter. As early as 1842, Lade-
 wig⁴ maintained *contaminatio* for the Bacchides,
 and also for the Captivi, Miles, Pseudolus, Tru-
 culentus and less positively for the Stichus and
 the Trinummus. Leo⁵ and E. Fränkel⁶ held
 that the discrepancy between the statement in
 v.1090—*bis*—and the existence of three tricks in
 the Bacchides is due to *contaminatio*; and that
 the second letter is too Attic to be an invention
 of Plautus. But Leo himself grants the possi-
 bility, which is just as reasonable a solution as
contaminatio, that the letter may be merely a
 repetition of the first one, introduced by Plautus
 himself in his desire to increase the comic effect
 and the impression of Chrysalus' cleverness by a
 more complete discomfiture of the old man Nico-
 bulus. And Plautus, while using the Menan-
 drean model, forgot at the end that he had in-
 corporated a third trick and merely translated
 the Greek δῖς⁷. Fränkel⁸ suggests also the
 possibility of *retractatio* as an explanation of this
 contradiction; but that seems hardly probable,
 since there is no reason for it in this play. The
 double trickery would suffice for the comic in-
 terest, which it was usually the desire of the *re-*
tractatores to increase.

⁴ Über den Kanon des Volcatius Sedigitus, Neustrelitz,
 pp.27ff.

⁵ Röm. Lit. pp.119f.

⁶ De media et nova comoedia quaestiones, Diss. Gött-
 ingen, 1912, pp.100ff.

⁷ Leo: Röm. Lit. p.119.

⁸ Op. cit.

In the light of our investigation of this play and our consideration of its inconsistencies, it would seem justifiable to reject the explanation of *contaminatio* and to regard the Bacchides as a good example of the way in which Plautus dealt with his Greek model, adding trickery to that already present and carelessly neglecting minor details of connection, or allusion, in his emphasis upon the main theme of trickery.

The same sort of addition for comic effect, as noted in the Bacchides, can be seen in the *Asinaria*, in the new condition imposed in vv.735ff., which was not included in the original bargain. Yet if it were not in the Greek original no one would attribute that addition to anyone but Plautus.

The connection of discrepancies of this sort with *contaminatio*, and the rejection or acceptance of *contaminatio* as the explanation for them, were considered, as has been noted, under the analysis of the separate plays.⁹ A few general remarks about several plays in regard to this question may, however, still be made here.

The *Persa* may be classed with the *Asinaria*; for like that play its plot combines two tricks,—the appropriation of the purchase money by Sagaristio and the personation, which gives the name to the play. Both plays likewise end in banquet scenes, like the *Stichus*, though in the *Persa* and the *Asinaria* the banquet scenes belong logically and organically to the play,¹⁰ while

⁹ cf. section, III B.

¹⁰ Leo; *Plaut. Forsch.* pp.168f.

in the *Stichus* this feature, probably derived from the *ἐξοδοί* of the Old Comedy is dragged in forcibly. As Leo maintains for the *Stichus*, it is probable that all three plays illustrate in their structure that heterogeneous combination of farcical elements from various sources of which Plautus was fond. The distinction between this combination of elements and the fusion of plots which has come to have the technical name of *contaminatio* should be borne in mind.

The theory of *contaminatio* for the *Persa* suggested by Ladewig¹¹ and maintained by A. Van Ijsendyk¹² has not been accepted; for the threads of trickery run parallel and intermingle¹³ in a way which is not true in the plays like the *Miles* and the *Poenulus*, which are surely contaminated. As to the shortening of the play especially after Act IV scene 8,¹⁴ and the absence of the parasite from the banquet, how much may be attributed to Plautus and how much to a later hand it is impossible to determine. Both branches of the manuscript tradition, A and P,¹⁵ show many traces, however, of *retractatio*.

Free from *contaminatio* in the technical sense are the *Captivi*¹⁶ and the *Curculio*. The peculiarity of these plays lies in the motiveless action.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* pp.38ff.

¹² De T. Macci Plauti *Persa*, Utrecht, 1884.

¹³ M. Meyer: De Plauti *Persa*, pp.157ff.

¹⁴ Ritschl ed. 1853, Praef., p.IX.

¹⁵ C. Coulter: *Retractatio in Plautus*, Diss, Bryn Mawr, 1911, p.41.

¹⁶ Coulter: *op. cit.* p.5.

In the *Captivi*, Hegio's only purpose was to send some captive to ransom his son. From this point of view, to be sure, the master, Philocrates, had to be held as a hostage; the slave was worthless for this purpose. But as far as the exigencies of the plot are concerned, the exchange of rôles by the captives is unnecessary.¹⁷ The reason for the exchange is in the minds of the captives, for their own advantage; but as the plot develops nothing is made of that exchange. The pathetic interest of the play is heightened, to be sure, by it, and one overlooks the lack of motive in the interest aroused by it. In other words this is another instance of Plautine technique in the disregard of unimportant details for the sake of the dramatic interest.

The same thing is true of the *Curculio*,¹⁸ inasmuch as from the soldier's point of view the motive of his disclosure to *Curculio* is *nil*. But for the development of the action, as has been noted above,¹⁹ it is necessary, because the trick whereby *Planesium* falls into *Phaedromus*' possession rests upon it. Likewise the appearance of the soldier from *Caria* is without motive. As *Langen* suggests,²⁰ the defects may be due to *retractatio*. But the play is essentially Plautine in nature and clear in spite of shortening. The disappearance of *Palinurus* from the play, which

¹⁷ Legrand: *Daos*, p.401 note 2.

¹⁸ *Langen*: *Plaut. Stud.* p.134.

¹⁹ cf. section III B, p.87.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*

Leo notes,²¹ after the return of Curculio, is due merely to the fact that upon the trickster and his plans the action, here, as in other plays, focuses; and subordinate characters, as we have pointed out above,²² disappear when their contributions to those plans have been made.

The *Mostellaria* is the sort of play wherein this power of improvisation on the part of Plautus, or his model, has freest rein, inasmuch as all the trickery is brought about by sudden unexpected turns of chance,²³ and plans spring from the need of the moment. The *Trinummus*, which the prologue tells us is translated from the *Θησαυρός* of Philemon, vv.18f., is very similar to the *Mostellaria* in its freedom from difficulties involving *contaminatio*, as far as the plot of deception is concerned.

The question of *contaminatio* in the *Miles*, *Poenulus*, and *Pseudolus* has been discussed at some length under the separate plays.²⁴ Scholars still differ as to the reconstruction of the original plots which served as their models. For the *Pseudolus* the analysis suggested by Bierma,²⁵ modified by the views of Seyffert,²⁶ of Leo,²⁷ and of A. Schmitt,²⁸ is the prevailing one today.

²¹ Plaut. Forsch. p.197, note 1.

²² cf. section III B., p.116.

²³ Ritschl: Opusc. II, p.740.

²⁴ cf. section III B., pp. 109ff.; 117ff.; 128ff.

²⁵ *Questiones de Plautina Pseudolo*, Groningen, 1897.

²⁶ Berl. Phil. Woch. 18, 1898, coll. 1511-1515.

²⁷ G. G. N. 1903, pp.347ff.

²⁸ *De Pseudoli Plautinae exemplo Attico*, Strassburg, 1909.

For the *Poenulus* the results of the analysis of Langen,²⁹ Leo,³⁰ and Karsten³¹ still remain unchanged.

The relation of the *Miles* to its originals and all the work done upon that question has been summarized by J. Mesk³² who accepts in general Leo's analysis.³³ Aside from the arguments offered by them in substantiation of *contaminatio* for these plays, from the analyses of the deception which we have made, we would maintain such *contaminatio*, especially for the *Poenulus* and the *Miles* where the tricks are so separate and distinct, and where the dropped threads indicate quite evidently the combination of two plots. For the *Pseudolus* the proof is not conclusive.

The conclusion in regard to *contaminatio* and its reaction upon the comedies of Plautus is now clear. Discrepancies and irregularities in details are not abnormal to the method of Plautus and can therefore not serve as criteria by which to test the plays still in doubt. The analysis of the plays with the motive of deception as the central point has shown this. In the *Miles* and the *Poenulus*, which are generally regarded as "contaminated", are found the same characteristics of technique as in the *Asinaria*, *Curculio*, and *Trinummus*, for example. In all the plays Plautus shows the same pains about the same points,

²⁹ Plaut. Stud. pp.181ff.

³⁰ Plaut. Forsch. pp.170ff.

³¹ Mnem. 29, 1901, pp.363ff.

³² Wiener Studien, 1913, pp.211ff.

³³ Plaut. Forsch. pp.178ff.

i. e. he keeps the fact of imposture before the audience³⁴ by a repetition of the essential details and traces clearly the course of the trickery through plan and execution; and the playwright also shows the same carelessness about the same points, e. g. the element of time, the disappearance of certain characters, the minor psychological improbabilities, and the like.³⁵

Former studies have emphasized too much the separate, individual irregularities of each separate play and have focussed their attention too exclusively upon the separate, individual plays. The relative importance of those irregularities can only be seen by a comparative study of all the plays. From such a study it seems that *contaminatio* must be based upon really organic difficulties, e. g. lack of proper motive, as in the Miles and Poenulus, for a second trick, and not upon crudities of technique which are normal in Plautus.

In other words, this study has contributed no new points, perhaps, as evidence for or against *contaminatio*, but it has enabled us to indicate the relative value of the proofs already existent. That valuation has, accordingly, forced us to reject some of the discrepancies advanced as proof of *contaminatio*, e. g. in the Pseudolus especially,³⁶ since they are characteristically Plautine and can be explained on more rational grounds than by resorting to *contaminatio*. That being the

³⁴ cf. section III B. *passim*, especially pp.127f.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ cf. section III B. pp.130ff.

case, it remains still to discover the source of the abnormalities which are un-Plautine. In other words, are they due to *retractatio*?

As to *retractatio*, which is the result of the need of later presenters of the Plautine plays³⁷ to accommodate the play to the trend of mind of a new and later audience, the decision between genuine and ungenuine passages depends largely upon the subjective estimate of the critic.³⁸ Hence the difficulty of arriving at a definite conclusion is merely increased. For that purpose an examination of passages which are suspected of being "retractated" is necessary to determine what sort of passages suffer generally at the hands of the *retractator*. But it is not necessary to determine whether they are justifiably suspected. In other words from the point of view of trickery as the chief interest in the comedies, an examination of the passages regarded as "retractated" will suffice to show whether essential or only minor details connected with deception suffered at the hands of the later emendators of the Plautine text.³⁹

The basis of any work in this connection is Langen's *Plautinische Studien*, section III pp.233-387, a good summary of work before 1886, with which are compared the readings in the editions of Leo, Goetz-Schoell and Lindsay

³⁷ H. A. Karsten: *De Interpolationibus in Plauti Capitulis*, *Mnem.* XXI, 1893, p.289.

³⁸ Langen: *Plaut. Stud.* p.233.

³⁹ The problems connected with the *lacunae* are not included in this discussion.

and the contributions made by later monographs to our investigation. Here again the Bacchides is taken as a starting-point.

v.233 is a good illustration of the sort of verse affected by *retractatio*. Anspach⁴⁰ considers it a case of dittography of v.232; but Langen disagrees and holds it as presenting an additional and an essential idea. As has been said, however, our purpose is not to come to any decision between such conflicting authorities but merely to note the lines thus suspected and to examine their contents to see whether in any way they are connected with the plot of deception.⁴¹

Special note should be made of Act II 3 in which two themes are apparently interwoven,—the depositing of the money in the temple of Diana, and the depositing of it with a friend. But the editors differ as to the attribution of the verses to Plautus. Even so, the passage has no connection with the plot of deception except in so far as the tale told is to convince the old man that the money was not brought home, and either or both tales might have convinced him. Likewise a large part of Act III 2 was suspected by Ritschl following K. W. Weise, cf. vv.393 and 403 which contain similar endings. Leo and

⁴⁰ De Bacchidum Plautinae retractatione scaenicae Bonn. 1882.

⁴¹ Lines considered by Langen which contain no reference to deception: vv.121ff., 150, 152f., 159f., 220f., 361ff., 366f., 3378-382, 479, 486ff., 508, 984ff., 1120-1142, 1188ff.; division of Act I 1, cf. also Leo, for vv.67 and 69, following Ribbeck and Buecheler.

Ussing (editions) apparently regard the whole as Plautine. But the scene has no immediate connection with the trickery.

The same is true of Act IV 9 and the suspected verses in it, a sign of *retractatio*, or the two recensions in Act IV 8, vv.842-883 and vv.884-901. Langen's theory in this scene particularly is contradicted successfully by H. Weber.⁴² But it is evident that the main details of the plot have been left untouched by the *retractator*. It is apparently such sententious moralizing, as in Act III 2, or such expansions of the thought of preceding lines, as vv.159f., of *hic uereri perdidit*, that indicate most frequently the hand of the amender. An examination of more of the plays must, however, precede any conclusions as to this point.

Amphitruo

In the *Amphitruo* contradictory lines are found by Langen, Goetz and Leo. But an examination of all the lines discussed by them⁴³ reveals no connection with the trickery.

Asinaria

In the *Asinaria*, at the end of Act I 1, occurs a double recension which is connect-

⁴² Plautus Studien, Philol. 57, 1898, pp.231ff.

⁴³ vv.401, 479-485, 629ff.; dittographies in, vv.371-375, 825ff., 916f., 1006ff. parallel to vv.997ff.; interpolations in vv.160, 166, 685, 974f., suspected lines in vv.172, 892-896.

ed with the trickery. Goetz-Loewe⁴⁴ had indicated vv.106, 107, 108, 116-125, 109-116 as one recension, vv.106-115 as the other, because of v.108, *ego eo ad forum* which apparently would exclude such a question as *ubi eris?* in v.110. For the success of the plan of deception it is essential that Demaenetus should know where Libanus will be, but *ad forum* Langen holds to be sufficient direction. Should further direction be needed, as Langen concedes possible, still Libanus' answer to the query, *ubiquomque lubitum erit animo* appears to Langen entirely irrelevant and he would accordingly consider vv.109-110 as later interpolations. But such literal-mindedness often leads the German scholar into error. It is just as probable that the playwright himself conceived of the impudent answer of the slave for comic effect as that it should have been invented by a later *retractator*. So the point is not conclusive.

Of the other lines questioned by Langen,⁴⁵ v.93 is not essential to the course of the trickery, since its question, *Deprudem te ego?* is repeated in the following line. So it is quite evidently the work of a *retractator* and its omission in no way affects the plot. v.252 in like manner merely repeats v.250. vv.480-483 and 489ff. give a double recension of the end of Act II 4, the im-

44 Praef. p.XXII cf. Langen: Plaut. Stud. p.240.

45 vv.23f., 25f., 33, 66, 77, 93, 133, 204ff., 252, 312-314; 434f., 480-483, 489ff., 552, 583, 828f, 901ff.; for double ending of Act II 4 cf. Goetz: Praef. XXIII; Langen: op. cit. p.243f.; P. Ahrens: De Plauti Asinaria, Jena, 1903.

postor scene, but without affecting the course of the trickery. v.583 merely repeats v.581 and is not essential. So again the scope of the work of the *retractator* is found outside the important parts of the play.

Captivi.

The same thing holds true for the Captivi. Contradictions occur,⁴⁶ interpolations,⁴⁷ dittographies,⁴⁸ a double ending,⁴⁹ verses suspected for other reasons.⁵⁰ But none of the verses cited affect the progress of the deception and hence need no separate comment.

Casina

Although it is certain that the Casina was acted after the death of Plautus,⁵¹ it shows fewer interpolations than the other plays and apparently suffered more through cutting than through expansion.⁵² Langen defends v.203 against Spengel's suggestion that it is a repetition of v.208. He also defends v.498 against Loewe's

⁴⁶ cf. H. T. Karsten: op. cit. p.294.

⁴⁷ vv.46-51, 102-107, 152, 231ff., 288, 401ff., 530-532, 664ff.

⁴⁸ vv.438, cf. Brix: Anhang; Karsten; 521; 1022;

⁴⁹ cf. Terence: Andria, L. Havet: rev. de Phil. 16, 1892, p.73.

⁵⁰ v.133-175, cf. Karsten: op. cit.; vv.280, 324, 968, cf. Leo and O. Seyffert: B. Ph. 4, 1887, p.780f.

⁵¹ Langen: op. cit. pp.278ff.

⁵² Teuffel: Stud. u. Char. p.320.

rejection of it,⁵³ as a gloss; and vv.688ff., against C. Fuhrmann's rejection.⁵⁴ Leo holds v.970 as a contradiction of v.971. But here again none of the verses in question touch the plot of deception. If the *retractatores* cut this play, they did not produce obscurities.⁵⁵

Curculio The suspected passages of the *Curculio* are discussed by Langrehr.⁵⁶ The only one that is connected with the trickery is vv.545-551, and O. Seyffert⁵⁷ defends those lines on the basis that they anticipate v.582. They are not really essential to the plot, so their acceptance or rejection is not important; suffice it to note that they are connected with the plot of deception.

Epidicus In the *Epidicus* the interchange of verses in Act I 1 which Langen⁵⁸ and Hasper⁵⁹ hold against Schredinger⁶⁰ does not affect the trickery. Again it is a case of authorities differing as to their estimate of what is genuine and what is un-Plautine. The same is true of vv.46ff. That the revelation contained therein is contradicted by v.60⁶¹ is hardly the case, since

⁵³ Anal. Plaut. p.204.

⁵⁴ Jahrb. f. Philol. 97, 1869, p.482.

⁵⁵ A. L. Wheeler: *Epidicus*, op. cit.

⁵⁶ De Plauti *Curculione*, Friedland, 1893; vv.17, 61, 76, 72, 93, 155-157, 161, 175, 193f., 200, 276, 284, 292, 305, 429, 461, 472, 493, 503, 545-551, 678, 705, 711.

⁵⁷ Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1895, Part II. p.27.

⁵⁸ Op. cit. pp.288ff.

⁵⁹ Ad *Epidicum* Plauti coniectanea, p.9.

⁶⁰ De Plauti *Epidico*, Progr. Műnnerstadt, 1884, p. 21.

⁶¹ Ussing, Hasper, and Reinhardt in *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 111, 1875, p.199.

such pretended reticence after such open speech is psychologically in keeping with a slave's attitude. Leo and Goetz-Schoell retain them.

vv.109-111, since they are lacking in the Ambrosian palimpsest may be an interpolation. Moreover, they are just the sort of sententious moralizing added by later reworkers of the plays which we have commented upon before. But for our consideration they are not important. Likewise unimportant are the other suspected verses.⁶²

Menaechmi

The Menaechmi presents no suspected lines connected with the trickery.⁶³

Mercator

As to the reworking of this play by later hands, especially the prologue, cf. Ussing⁶⁴ who cites the opinion of Ritschl, of Dziatzko,⁶⁵ of Reinhardt.⁶⁶ Proof of such reworking is possible from the text, as these scholars have

⁶² vv.50, 135f., 261-266, 339f., 353, 384, 393, 419, 518ff.

⁶³ vv.77f., 130, 185ff., Act II 2 passim, 478, 586f., 601, 639a, 655f., 694f., 750, 831f., 882ff., 983f., 1040, cf. Sonnenburg: *de Menaechmis Plautina*, Bonn, 1882; Langen: *op. cit.* pp.296ff.

⁶⁴ *Comment*, p.314.

⁶⁵ *Rh. M.* XXVI p.421; XXIX p.63.

⁶⁶ Studemund's *Studien I* pp.80ff.

indicated. But it has in no wise affected the simple trend of the trickery.⁶⁷

Miles.

Retractatio in the Miles has been discussed by Lorenz,⁶⁸ by F. Schmidt⁶⁹ by Langen,⁷⁰ by O. Ribbeck,⁷¹ and by Brix.⁷² Apart from the lines rejected by Leo⁷³ and by Goetz-Schoell⁷⁴ and by Langen,⁷⁵ only Langen's rejection of Act III 1 needs consideration here. Langen thinks that the whole scene could be dispensed with, since Act III 3 contains all the information necessary for understanding the second trick, and since the irrelevancy of vv.615-765 cast suspicion upon the whole scene. F. Schmidt⁷⁶ solved the difficulty by rejecting merely those lines, which is probably the saner procedure. Plautus is often irrelevant, but in no place does he carry it so far with so little reason. Moreover, the passage examined on stylistic grounds is not Plautine, so Langen holds. Leo⁷⁷

67 cf. vv.126, 145ff., 150-165, 182, 185, 276, 220ff., 263, 269f., 356, 373ff., 419f., 448a, 492ff., 536, 555b, 620ff., 745; 849, 983a.

68 Introd. ed. pp.36ff.

69 Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl. IX, 1877-78, pp.391ff.

70 Op. cit. pp.313-333.

71 Alazon, 1882.

72 Introd. ed. pp.14f.

73 vv.585, 602f., 708, 710.

74 vv.189a-192, 228, 328ff., 599b, 1002, 1287ff.

75 vv.1019-1033.

76 Op. cit.

77 Plaut. Forsch. p.181.

does not agree. Langen also holds that the contrast between the praise of the easy-going life of the egoistic youth and the faithful performance of duty on the part of a loyal, steady citizen is not a theme which would appeal to a Roman audience of Plautus' time. It would, however, he thinks, suit the taste of an audience of the time of the Plautine revival. Hence it is retractated. But the poof is not convincing.

If a scene prefatory to Pleusicles' adoption of the rôle of *nauclerus* in vv.1177ff. is required, Langen would place it somewhere between Acts II and III. J. Franke⁷⁸ maintains the Plautinity of Act III 1.

But this must remain an open question; nor is it essential to our purpose to decide it, since the rejection or the acceptance of the whole scene or of parts of it does not in any way affect the course of the deception, i. e. even though there are several deceptions which are not well connected, the presentation of each is free from obscurities.

Mostellaria

None of the suspected verses of the *Mostellaria* needs special comment.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ De Militis Gloriosi Plautinae compositone, Weidae Thuringii, 1910, pp.48ff.

⁷⁹ vv.87f., 93f., 126f., 185, 208ff., 306f., 410, 609, 721a, 741, 1001, 1033ff.

Persa

The Persa offers slight evidence for assuming that the play suffered change.⁸⁰ The verses which are noted⁸¹ with minor variations do not affect the trickery. The shortening of the play in Act IV 9 was probably due to *retractatio*,⁸² as is the case with the Poenulus, but to what extent the play has suffered it is impossible to determine.

Poenulus

The Poenulus shows more alteration than any play of Plautus. The double ending is the longest case of dittography⁸³ which we have. It contains parallel versions,⁸⁴ variant lines,⁸⁵ longer alternate versions.⁸⁶ But none of these influence the course of deception, nor do the other lines that have been suspected.⁸⁷

Pseudolus

The same is true of the Pseudolus.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Coulter: op. cit. p.40.

⁸¹ vv.433-436, 442f., 605, 608, 609f., 703, 704.

⁸² Ritschl: Praef. p.IX.

⁸³ Coulter: op. cit. p.65.

⁸⁴ vv.504ff., 1315ff.

⁸⁵ vv.214, 218, 304, 390b.

⁸⁶ vv.121-128, 917-929, 1042-1052.

⁸⁷ Coulter: op. cit. p.66 note 28.

⁸⁸ cf. vv.523b, 688ff., 1137; certain cases of *retractatio*, cf. Coulter: op. cit. p.81:—vv.142, 151, 166, 206f., 259-263, 412, 535ff., 544a, 562ff., 576ff., 596ab, 600, 696ab; 745-750 parallel to 734-744, 842, 1077, 1086, 1196, 1279f., 1314.

Trinummus

The Trinummus is especially good as an illustration of the general work of the *retractator*,⁸⁹ since the play is so full of *sententiae* and moral reflections, upon which the *retractatores* are particularly inclined to exert their efforts. The play also from vv. 582, 889-891, 901, and 1093ff., has apparently been shortened.⁹⁰

This study of the suspected passages of the comedies leads to the conclusion that to *retractatio* are due changes in unimportant details, i. e. the shortening or omission of unessential speeches and scenes, or such a second ending as that offered for the Poenulus. But the hand of the *retractator* has apparently spared, almost entirely, the details which are essential to the plot of deception. In fact, this study but strengthens the theory already expressed, that Plautus worked for comic effect and, so long as the result was superficially successful, considerations of structural roughness and incompleteness were of minor importance. To that end the poet combined at will either details from various sources, for one single plan of action, as in the Asinaria and the Persa, or various plans of action for the complex plots of the Miles and the Poenulus; and the resulting product served his purpose of

⁸⁹ Coulter: op. cit. p.107.

⁹⁰ For other suspected lines cf. Coulter: op. cit. p.107, note 19.

entertaining an audience uncritical and unobservant of the many superficial discrepancies which only the critical analysis of a scholar would seize upon.

The Epidicus alone seems to stand out as different from the other plays, both in the nature of some of the threads of deception which are dropped and in the general obscurity and looseness of connection in the plot as it develops. Ladewig was the first⁹¹ to discuss the difficulties in the play and to attribute them to *contaminatio*. Reinhardt, in 1873,⁹² overthrew that possibility and attributed the mutilation of the play to the hands of the later actors who desired, perhaps, to hasten the dénouement and to meet the public wish for a speedy conclusion to the play after the climax. Langen in 1886,⁹³ as Schredinger⁹⁴ and Francken⁹⁵ before him, attributed the discrepancies to *retractatio*. The brevity of the play is a strong point for such an argument; for the Epidicus, as has been noted before, is apparently stripped of most of those scenes unessential to the plot and introduced merely for comic effect which are found in the other plays.

On the other hand, the change in the ending, as was pointed out by Dziatzko,⁹⁶ necessitated by

91 Zelt. f. alt. wiss. 1841, coll. 1079-1099.

92 Studemund's Studlen I pp.79-111.

93 Plaut. Stud. pp.137ff.

94 Observationes in Plauti Epidicum, Progr, 1884.

95 Plautina in Mnem. VII, 1879, pp.184-204.

96 Der Inhalt des Georgos von Menander, Rh. M. LV, 1900, pp.104ff.

the Roman repugnance to the conclusion of the Greek original, involved certain confusion, even though Plautus, by substituting a reconciliation of the conflicting interests by Epidicus and by centering the interest on him and his plots, endeavours to turn the attention of the audience away from the inconsistencies. Leo, while holding to the internal unity of the play,⁹⁷ assumes the loss of a prologue containing an outline of the argument, which could fill in such gaps in the plot as need explanation.

How far the playwright's effort to reconcile these difficulties has affected the play and how far it has suffered from later reworkings it is impossible at present to decide. As has been noted above, the study of the other plays has led to the conclusion that non-essentials alone were concerned in the processes of the *retractatores*. If that conclusion be accepted, in view of the difficulties presented by the Epidicus, it is clear that both carelessness on the part of Plautus and reworking by later hands have caused the present obscurities and irregularities in the Epidicus. That *retractatio* has wrought greater disorder in it than even the most careless of Plautus' own methods of composition seems evident from a comparison of the outline of the Epidicus with those of the other plays.

From this study of the influence of *contaminatio* and *retractatio* upon the comedies of Plautus the conclusion in regard to the technique of Plautus is only strengthened. "Intent upon the mo-

⁹⁷ Plaut. Forsch. p.198, especially note 2.

mentary comic effect and centralizing all the action in that, the playwright has neglected at will the finely spun threads of the action, especially where he 'contaminated' several plays. The *Miles* and the *Poenulus* on one side, the *Casina* and *Stichus* on the other, compared with the closely unified⁹⁸ plot of the *véα*, are atrocities, from the point of view of a careful reader, of lack of order. Seldom does the poet develop an action so logically and closely as in the *Bacchides* and the *Mostellaria*.⁹⁹ But the thread of deception is, in all cases except the *Epidicus*, clear and distinct. Hence, too, the deduction that the work of the *retractator* seems to have been concerned with extraneous details only.

This study must, however, leave us still of the opinion of Leo¹⁰⁰ that in view of the fact that we possess only a portion of the works of Plautus and yet from these can see how he sought to please the taste of his public and indiscriminately remodelled plays of such entirely different spirit as the *Amphitruo* and *Asinaria*, the *Captivi* and *Persa*, it is impossible to say with certainty how much of the elaboration of the plots is Plautine, how much of the shortening is un-Plautine. What Plautus owed in the technique of deception to his Greek predecessors is still to be considered.

98 cf. H. W. Prescott: *The Interpretation of Roman Comedy*, *Class. Phil.* XI, No. 2, 1916, pp.128ff. for an opposite view.

99 E. Norden: *Die römische Literatur*, in *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. I, 1910, p.463.

100 Plaut. *Forsch.* pp.167f.

CHAPTER V

SOURCES OF THE ELEMENT OF DECEPTION

ALTHOUGH no complete comedy of the Greek *véα* is extant to serve as a criterion, Plautus and Terence, so far as they are Greek, have been generally acknowledged as handing down the tradition of the New Comedy. Whenever we know who was the author of a Greek original (or what was the title) the evidence in every case except the *Persa* points to the *véα*. That Plautus borrowed also from Old Comedy is possible, as he surely did from Middle Comedy, e. g. the *Persa*.¹ To what extent he did so needs, however, further investigation. But the relation between the Roman and the Greek and their connection with antecedent comedy are difficult to establish directly because of the fragmentary remains of Hellenistic comedy. An effort has been made in the present chapter to throw some light upon this relation by tracing through the Greek drama an outline, at least, of deception.

As has been seen from the foregoing analysis, the methods of Plautus in developing the plot of

1 v. Wilamowitz's view of the *Persa*: *De tribus carminibus Latinis*, Index Lect. Gött. 1893-4, pp.13f.; H. W. Prescott: *The Interpretation of Roman Comedy*, *Class. Phil.* XI No. 2, April 1916, pp.125-147; XII No. 4, Oct. 1917, pp.405-425.

déception, which is the centre of interest in the comedies, although at times haphazard, seem in general well ordered and painstaking, with due care as to the explanation of preceding and the preparation for subsequent action. The former method approaches that of Aristophanes,² in whom there is little or nothing of explanation or preparation, with slight connection between the successive scenes. The prologues of the plays of Aristophanes, as Croiset points out,³ contain the germ of the drama which is developed step by step throughout the comedy. The action which is organized thus in the prologue is extended in the first part of the play, e. g. in the *Acharnians*; and in the second part the result of that action is shown in a simple succession of incidents like the scenes of the primitive comedy. The situations unravel themselves, with the *dénouement* foreseen perhaps, but uncertain, somewhat like the gradual unexpected development of the plot of the *Mostellaria*. This laxer construction in plot is but a reflection of the difference between the carefully stated outlines of the play given in the prologues of Euripides and the summary statement of the theme in the prologues of Aristophanes just noted.

But there are more specific points of resemblance than this between Aristophanes and Plautus. The types of characters already established

²M. Croiset: *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, Vol. III, pp.552f.

³Op. cit. p.557.

in the comedy of Aristophanes,⁴ old men and women, slaves like Cario in the Plautus, and the ending of some of the plays in a revel, as the Acharnians and the Lysistrata, the Persa and the Asinaria, show the possibly indirect influence of the Old Comedy upon Plautus.⁵

Impossibilities were also a characteristic of Attic Old Comedy,⁶ illustrated in the Lysistrata by the gathering together of women from hostile cities, friends and enemies alike, in the assembly convoked by Lysistrata. Plautus' disregard for verisimilitude has been noted.⁷

Lies, to be sure, are a feature of all comedy. Aristophanes realized the possibilities of amusement in lies when he presented them so aptly in his satire on the Sophists in the Clouds.⁸ Lies are, of course, the basis of all deception. But personation, which is the chief element of deception in Plautus, appears also in Aristophanes. In the Frogs, Dionysus masquerades as Heracles vv.464ff., with Xanthias as a slave; in vv.498ff., they exchange rôles; in v.742 the slave passes himself off as the master. In the Plutus, Cario the slave, threatens to play the part of Cyclops,

⁴ A. Couat: Aristophane et l'Ancienne Comédie Attique. Paris, 1892, pp.367ff.; Leo: Röm. Lit. p.106.

⁵ Leo: Plaut. Forsch. pp.137ff.

⁶ Rogers: ed. Lysistrata, Introd. p.XLI.

⁷ cf. Section III B, pp.72ff.

⁸ Passim. Pheidippides illustrates the supposed lying methods of the Sophists by beating his father and then justifying his own conduct. cf. Knights, vv.7, 64, 486, 491, 696.

v.290ff., and then that of Circe, vv.301ff., and change the chorus into pigs. In the Acharnians, the Megarian disguises his daughters as pigs, vv.739ff. In the same play Dicaeopolis plays the rôle of a beggar to carry out his plan,

v.445 . . . λεπτὰ μηχανᾶ φρενί

The Ecclesiazusae opens with the women disguised as men practising the parts which they are soon to play in the Assembly, and the whole plot rests upon their impersonation.

But the Thesmophoriazusae has the most points in common with the plots of Plautus. The whole plot rests upon personation: first when Mnesilochus, at Euripides' instigation, dresses up as a woman to plead the poet's cause before the assembly of women, vv.90ff., 185ff.; then through the poet's own personation of Menelaus and of Perseus, vv.870ff., 1009ff. The asides of Mnesilochus are like those of the trickster in Plautus,

vv.603f. κακαδαίμων ἐγὼ

v.609 διοίχομαι = *perü*

his soliloquy, vv.765ff., like those of Plautus' tricksters bent upon some new trick,

ἄγε δὴ τις ἔσται μηχανὴ σωτηρίας;

the sort of asides which Schaffner⁹ says Plautus

⁹ De aversum loquendi ratione in comoedia Graeca, Diss. Gissae, 1911, p.20. Schaffner is probably incorrect on this point, cf. remarks below, pp.175f.

borrowed not from Menander of the New Comedy, but from the earlier comedy. The conclusion of the play, when the chorus asks for the approval of the audience, is also like the Plautine comedies.

Though no conclusion may be drawn from the coincidence, it is noteworthy that this comedy of Aristophanes in which details characteristic of the Plautine comedies occur so freely parodies three of the tragedies of Euripides.

In addition to the evidence already discussed, we cite for the sake of completeness the following passages from Aristophanes: instances of personation, *Acharnians*, vv.117ff., Dicaeopolis pretends to recognize Cleisthenes decked out as a eunuch; *Wasps*, v.351, plan suggested to Philocleon by the chorus to escape in the disguise of a beggar, like Odysseus; *Birds*, vv.801ff., Euelpides and Peisthetaerus assume the characters of birds; *Clouds*, vv.340ff., cf. v.355, the chorus of women personating clouds.

Frogs vv.50ff., Bacchus assumes the garb of Heracles, to descend to the infernal regions to release Euripides. His slaves, Xanthias, is attired like Silenus. It may be urged that this sort of assumption of various characters by persons of the drama is not parallel to the sort of personation found in Plautus. Nevertheless Aristophanes here foreshadows the Plautine method. Thieving is found in the *Clouds*, v.1499 cf. 497, where Strepsiades vows vengeance upon Socrates, his master, for having stolen his cloak; *Acharnians*, v.1023, where the theft of oxen from

an Athenian farmer is intended to show the hardships of the ordinary citizen who is at war, as compared with the happy lot of Dicaeopolis, who is at peace; *Knights*, v.79, one of the characteristics of the Paphlagonian, Cleon, is his propensity for thieving, cf. v.296, 1252, as is the case also with the Sausage-seller, v.420, 746, 778, 823ff., 1203, which adds to the comic effect of the Sausage-seller's efforts against his rival the Paphlagonian to win Demus' favour, cf. v.1149; *Lysistrata*, v.176, the women plan to outwit the men, first by seizing the Acropolis, and then, as the men, at least, fear, vv.623f., by stealing their husbands' money; *Wasps*, two boys represent dogs in the suit judged by Philocleon, vv.900ff. and the slave Xanthias plays dog-accuser; vv.1490ff. boys dressed as crabs. *Wasps*, vv.238f., 354f., 1201, stealing was one of the favourite pranks of even the stern administrators of the law, in their youth; vv.837ff. Labes is to be accused of stealing and devouring a Sicilian cheese; *Frogs* vv.772ff., Aeacus as a thief-taker pursues Xanthias, who has stolen his dog. Plots and plans of all sorts are found: *Knights*, v.236 the Paphlagonian accuses his rivals of constantly plotting ill to Demus and destruction to himself, cf. vv.257, 452, 476, 862, 901ff.; the Sausage-seller, however, works the Paphlagonian's undoing, in spite of his protests, vv.626ff., 758f.; Demus is also deceived by both of them, cf. vv.1142, 1342ff.; *Lysistrata*, vv.26ff. *Lysistrata* relates her scheme for the women to bring the men to terms, cf. vv.42, 111, 1007; *Thesmophoriazusae*, vv.765ff.,

Mnesilochus tries to form some stratagem to escape from the women into whose power he has fallen; *Wasps*, v.149, 174ff., 192, Philocleon tries to invent some means to effect his escape and to thwart his son's plots against himself, vv.345ff.; *Birds*, vv.195ff. Peisthetaerus suggests to the birds his scheme for them of one great city, a conception the development and realization of which¹⁰ occupy the entire remainder of the play, cf. vv.321, 431, 457, especially vv.548ff.; *Birds*, vv.960ff., a prophet and a surveyor try to hoodwink Peisthetaerus but he whips them off the stage as impostors. Delusions and mockeries occur in the *Lysistrata*, v.840, the plots of the women are to be a delusion and a snare for their husbands, cf. v.1024; *Acharnians* vv.1197f.

"If Dicaeopolis perceive me¹¹
And mock, and mock at my mischances."

Knights v.1313 "He shall ne'er, as our commander, fool it o'er this land of ours."

Wasps v.1007 "— no Hyperbolus delude and mock you."

Birds, vv.328, 333, the birds feel betrayed into the hands of men by the Hoopoe.

¹⁰ Rogers—translation, cf. note on v.162.

¹¹ Rogers'—translation.

The dream motive might also be mentioned, *Knights*, vv.1090ff.; *Wasps*, vv.12ff. The burlesque use of the plays of Euripides, as in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, mentioned above, and the burlesque use of the tragic style in the *Acharnians*, vv.1174ff., foreshadow the tragico-comic scenes and the passages of mock-heroic style in Plautus.

Thus Plautus, as we see, could have borrowed many features from the Old Comedy; and if we judge the New Comedy by him we may perhaps agree with Couat,¹² that the Old Comedy contains all the germs of the New Comedy. Between the two, however, the chief distinction lies in the fact that the *véα* "substituted a picture of life for the caricature of life of the *ἀρχαία* preferring a laugh which sprang from likeness to reality to one which sprang from the strange and bizarre."¹³ In this respect Plautus serves to show that the continuity between the two is unbroken. In fact, as Leo has pointed out,¹⁴ it is noteworthy that some of the plays which go back to Menander and Philemon, as the *Mercator*, *Trinummus* and perhaps the *Epidicus*, show more points of contact with the Old Comedy than others.

It has been indicated that in the *Thesmophoriazusae* there may be a connecting-link between Euripides and Plautus. Also through Me-

¹² *Op. cit.* p.374.

¹³ J. Denis: *La Comédie Grecque*, Paris, 1886, Vol. II, pp.408f.

¹⁴ *Plaut. Forsch.* p.140.

nander Plautus harks back to Menander's great master, Euripides,¹⁵ who had brought tragedy from its height of mythological and heroic fancy to the level of everyday life, combining with the action of the myth the elements of involved intrigue. In other words, Euripides served as the forerunner of Plautus in furnishing the transition from tragedy to comedy. In the *Ion*, the *Helen*, and the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, is found, differentiated from comedy in tragic garb alone, the setting of everyday life which is the material background of comedy. As Leo has suggested,¹⁶ where Plautus is thus connected with tragedy it is probable that the threads which bind them together run through the *véz*.

In the use of anagnorisis, for example, Euripides anticipates the *véz*, cf. the *Electra*, the *Helen*, the *Ion*, and the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* with the *Epitrepontes* of Menander and with the *Captivi* and the *Poenulus* of Plautus. That the use of the *ἀναγνώρισις* as in the *Perikeiromene* of Menander, is not a parody on tragedy but a clear case of the influence of tragedy upon comedy Leo has shown.¹⁷ Other motives also, as Leo has pointed out, are borrowed from tragedy or are a reflection of the tragic conception, e. g. the arbitration scene in Menander's *Epitrepontes* is like the judgment scene of *Polymestor* and *Hecuba* before *Agamemnon*.

¹⁵ F. Poland: *Zur Charakteristik Menanders*, *Neue Jahrb.* 33, 1914, p.594; Leo: *Röm. Lit.* pp.100f.

¹⁶ Plaut. *Forsch.* p. 113.

¹⁷ G. G. N. 1912, p.281; *Röm. Lit.* p.104.

memnon in the Hecuba; or the pardon of the guilty slave is like the saving of Hypsipyle by Amphiaraos in the Hypsipyle. Also we have mentioned the fact that Plautus uses the Euripidean type of prologue, as in the *Amphitruo*.¹⁸

Moreover the details of deception prominent in Plautus occur in the tragedies of Euripides, especially personation. In the *Helen*, the personation of Helen by a wraith, *εἰδολον*, sent by Zeus to deceive Menelaus and the Greek host, vv.34, 559, 704f., 875,¹⁹ may prefigure the use of personation in comedy. Also Menelaus pretends "in name" to die, vv.1050ff., cf. v.1064 the pretense, *ἡ σκῆψις*. In the *Rhesus*, vv.208ff., the *δόλος* of Dolon's disguise as a wolf is outlined in full to the chorus, as a preparation for his carrying out of the ruse, and the chorus repeats the plot in vv.253ff. Odysseus also appears in the guise of a beggar, v.503, cf. *Hecuba* vv.239ff.; and Athena personates Cypris in order to deceive Paris, v.638. In the *Bacchanals*, Pentheus masquerades as a woman at Dionysus' orders, vv.820ff.²⁰

Lies occur throughout the plays, e. g. the lie of Hecuba to Polymestor, in *Hecuba* vv.1002ff., to lure him to his death in the tents of the Trojan women. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Agamemnon

18 G. Frantz: *De Comoediae Atticae Prologis*, Diss. Strassburg, 1891, p.40.

19 Citations from Euripides, Way-translation, Loeb Classical Library.

20 cf. Homer, personation of a fleeing Trojan by Apollo, *Iliad* XXII.

lies to Clytemnestra about the proposed betrothal of Iphigenia to Achilles, and his plot is frustrated by the meeting of Clytemnestra and Achilles, vv.820ff.

Disregard of time, which was noted in Aristophanes and Plautus, is found in Euripides, e. g. in the Children of Heracles, where within the space of a hundred lines Capreus, the herald goes to Argos from Athens, gathers a host and returns with them; and a battle is fought and won within the space of thirty-five lines. But this feature is common to all the tragedies. The dream motive, too, is a connecting-link between tragedy and Plautus, through the *véa*.²¹

Plots of various sorts, deceits, τέχναι, are found throughout the Euripides, cf.

Hipp. v.670 Τίνας νὺν τέχνας ἔχομεν ἢ λόγους
σφαλεῖσαι καθάμματα λύειν λόγου.

v.680 Οὐ κατώρθωται τέχνη

v.745 Σοφίζομαι δὲ καπὶ τοῖσι φιλότατοις
τέχνας πορίζω.

Iph. T. v.24 καὶ μ' Ὀδυσσέως τέχναι μήτρος
παρείλοντο

Alc. v.32 Δολίαις τέχναισι χρησάμενος

v.786 Τό τῆς τύχης ἔστ' οὐ διδακτὸν
οὐδ' ἀλίσκεται τέχνη

Iph. T. v.1032 Δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ γυναικες εὐρίσκειν
τέχνας

²¹ Leo: Plaut. Forsch. pp.162ff.

The Cyclops, the only extant Satyric drama, is particularly like the Plautine comedies. This might be expected, considering its farcical nature. Silenus, with his wiles and his lies, vv.292ff., is very like the crafty slave of Plautus; Odysseus, with his ready wit, v.476, reminds one of the intriguing trickster. The despairing note of v.668

Χορος
τί χρῆμ' αὐτεῖς ὦ Κύκλωψ
Κύκλωψ ἀπωλόμην

sounds the oft repeated *perii* of the Plautine comedies. Had we more of the satyr dramas as a basis for comparison we might find, as we are tempted to believe, that Plautus drew largely, though probably indirectly, from them. At all events he seems certainly to be indebted, directly or more probably indirectly, to Euripides for elements in the plots of deception.

Further instances of the elements of deception, which enter into the plays of Euripides, may be cited for the sake of completeness:—

Andr. vv.62f. δεινὰ γὰρ βουλεύεται
Μενέλαος εἰς σὲ παῖς θ,' . . .

67 . . . ποίας μηχανὰς πλέκουσιν
αὐ'

435 . . . δόλω μ' ὑπῆλθες' ἥπατήμεθα

549 . . . τί πράσσειτ' ἄκριτα μηχανώμενοι;

v.995 Orestes vows by his plots to ruin Achilles' son. Madness of Heracles, v.80, Megara appeals to Amphytrion to devise some means for her escape from Lycus, whose ruin he plans, vv.729f., cf. v. 855 for the interference of the gods in their schemes; Iph. Aul. v.745, Agamemnon confesses his plots against Clytemnestra and Iphigenia; Rhesus v.125, Aeneas urges sending someone to spy upon the enemy's lines, cf. v.140, a task which Dolon accepts, vv.154ff., to his undoing, for he is trapped by Odysseus and Diomedes, who learn his plans, and who take advantage of that knowledge to destroy Rhesus, v.861; Hecuba v.870ff., Hecuba reveals to Agamemnon her plot to kill Polymestor, which she carries out, vv.978ff.; Medea vv.260ff., Medea plans vengeance upon Jason and his new bride, her rival, cf. vv.317, 372ff., 402ff.; Helen vv.813ff., 1033ff., Helen plans her escape and that of Menelaus; Electra vv.582, 620, Orestes plots Aegisthus' death, which he accomplishes, vv.830ff.; Orestes, v.1099, Orestes and Pylades plan Menelaus' downfall, and Hermione's, v.1212; lies, Iph. T. vv.1155ff., Iphigenia invents answers to Thoas' questions as to the reasons for her removal of Athena's statue from the temple; Electra vv.650ff., Electra lures Clytemnestra to visit her by lies; Ion vv.825f.

"So not the God hath lied,
but this man lied,"²²

²² Way's translation. Loeb series.

Rearing so long the lad, weaving such plots."

Cyclops vv.259f. "All that he's said to you
was one big lie
To excuse his selling your
goods on the sly."

mockery and delusion resulting from the plots
above mentioned,

Iph. Aul. v.849 *ἰὼς ἐξεπτόμην καὶ σέ τις*.
Helen v.586 Paris is baffled by Helen's wraith,
cf. vv.683, 704f., 1621; Thieving, Iph. Aul. v.315,
Agamemnon's letter, which revealed all his plot,
is stolen by Menelaus from the messenger, cf.
vv.327, 895; pretense,

Iph. Aul. v.884 "the marriage made the pre-
text"²³

Helen v.1064 "fruitless is thy pretense"
Medea vv.870ff., Medea pretends that all her former
anger and threats against Jason were mere
whim; Helen v.1064. The use of letters and of
dreams should also be noted:—letters in Iph. Aul.
vv.315ff.; Iph. T. vv.767ff.; Hipp. vv.856ff.;
dreams in Rhesus v.782; Hecuba vv.72ff.; Iph.
T. vv.42ff. But it should be carefully noted that,
although the same elements as are found in Plau-
tus occur also in Euripides, as is evident from
these citations, and in Aristophanes, as was noted

²³ Way's translation.

above, deception is not the centre of interest nor of primary importance in these two writers.²⁴

For the *véα*, in the comedies of Menander, deception of the exact sort used by Plautus in the *Truculentus* is found in the *Epitrepontes*, vv.296ff., where Habrotonon plans that she will pretend to be the mother of the child, as Phronesium, the *meretrix*, does in the Plautine play, though with different intent.²⁵ Moreover other similarities exist, in that Habrotonon is apparently a *meretrix*, v.10; at least, she is a *fidicina*, v.601 K, cf. v.1, and Onesimus, a slave, is her colleague and abettor in the plot, which is the same sort of intrigue upon which the slaves in some of the Plautine comedies enter, cf. v.318 of the *Epitrepontes*. In fact, in the *Epitrepontes* all the action depends upon the fact that the tricky slave accidentally sees a ring which had belonged to his master.²⁶ With Plautus, however, the feature of deception, as has been seen, is often emphasized by the sacrifice of the complications which gave the excuse for the deception, i. e. the love intrigue. All that can be absolutely certain is that the plot of the *Epitrepontes* consists apparently of the sentimental intrigue plus the *ἀναγνώρισις*.

²⁴ Prescott, *Class. Ph.*, XIII (1918), 113ff.—an article which I was able to read only after this dissertation was completed.

²⁵ cf. the recognition that this was a common ruse, Capt. vv.1030-1031.

²⁶ Legrand: *Daos*, p.395.

In the *Perinthia*²⁷ some plot is apparently being formed, though to what end it is impossible to determine. As to the personation hinted at in the *Epitrepontes*, it is probable that Plautus adopted the detail from the *νέα*, with the change in emphasis which has been noted. In personation Plautus harks back, through Menander, to Euripides, if we accept the conclusion drawn by A. Sehrt²⁸ from a comparison of the *Epitrepontes* with the *Helen* of Euripides. And the Euripidean use of this feature in other plays has been indicated above. And yet we must not forget the tradition of this element within comedy itself, cf. Aristophanes.

In the fragments of the New Comedy, Kock's edition, Menander,

frag. 14 ὁ πρῶτος εὐρὼν διατροφήν, πτωχῷ τέχνην
πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀθλίους ἀπλοῦν γὰρ ἦν
τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ζῆν ἀλύπως ἀποθανεῖν

may refer to some parasite's or trickster's means of gaining a livelihood, cf. also Menander's *Kolax*, vv.50f.,²⁹ cf. and the fragment of the *Antiphanes*,

243-244 K. Βίος θεῶν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅταν ἔχῃς ποθέν.
τ' ἀλλότρια δειπνεῖν μὴ προσέχων λογίσ-
μασιν.

B. μακάριος ὁ βίος. δεῖ μ' ἄει καινὸν πόρον
εὑρεῖν ὅπως μάσημα τᾷς γνάθοις ἔχω.

²⁷ Koerte: *Menandrea*, p.195, vv.11ff.

²⁸ De Menandro Euripidis imitatore, Glissae, 1912, p.24.

²⁹ Koerte: *Menandrea*, p.181.

But without more of the context it is impossible to determine whether the word τέχνη in these citations admits of such a specific rendering as "trick."

Apart from the fragments of the plays of Menander just mentioned, we have only the heterogeneous collections of citations from the Middle and New Comedy⁸⁰ from which to make our comparisons. Inasmuch as these consist largely of philosophical *sententiae* quoted by Stobaeus in his ἀνθολόγιον καὶ ἐκλογαί, of passages appropriate to the Δειπνοσοφισταί of Athenaeus, to whom we owe the majority of the fragments, and of single lines and phrases and words quoted by the grammarians, it is perhaps not surprising that an examination of them yields no other instances which might serve as parallels, even thus remote, to any details of Plautine trickery.

To be sure, Menander 493 K

γέρων ἀπεμέμυκτ' ἄθλιος λόμφος

is parallel to Terence, Phormio,

v.682 Emunxi argento senes

except for the very important omission of the detail of money. It is, however, impossible to

⁸⁰ Kock ed. Vol. II (1884) Vol. III (1888); Koerte: Menandrea, 1910; H. van Herwerden: Collectanea critica, epigrammatica, exegetica, sive addenda ad T. Kockii opus com. Att. frg. 1903; J. Demianczyk: Supplementum comicorum Comoedia Graecae fragmenta post editionem Kockianum, Abhandl. Krakau Akad. 1912, pp.203-382.

say whether the Greek is, like the Latin, a summing up of the successful accomplishment of a ruse worked out by the speaker, or whether it is a mere statement of the confused state of the γέρον under other circumstances. Moreover, in view of the vast number of fragments, the scarcity of parallels probably means that deception in the *véα* was relatively much rarer than in the Roman *palliata*.

In a general way, as Legrand points out,³¹ a comedy of the new period represents the working out of a precarious situation to a definite conclusion. And the strength of the *véα*³² lay in the artistic combination of such involved and exciting action with a subtle portrayal of character, wherein the dénouement was brought about partly through chance, partly through intrigue, or through the peculiarities or contrasts in the character of the *personae dramatis*. For Menander and his imitators,³³ character became the chief interest, and their originality consists in perfecting the action and intrigue and in transferring to comedy the customs and passions which, so far as they were based on literature, seemed up to that time to have been reserved for tragedy. Their chief source was life. In general, Plautus as well as Terence continues this tradition.

³¹ Daos, p.376.

³² Christ: Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, I. Müller's Handbuch, Vol. VII 2, 1. p.27. This tendency probably began in the μέση.

³³ J. Denis: La Comédie Grecque, II p.403.

From the indications of connection which we have mentioned, it may be concluded that, in general, deception of some sort figured in the *véa*, though the familiar plot of ἔρως καὶ διαφθορὰ παρθένου followed by ἀναγνώρισις is the chief feature of the *véa* as illustrated, at least, by the plays of Menander.³⁴ Yet as has been seen in the Epitrepontes, the element of deception enters in, in the special guise of pretense and lying.

Further traces of deception can be followed back to the ἀρχαία and even to tragedy, especially the tragedy of Euripides. The presence of many details of deception disclosed by our analyses in the comedies of Plautus is explainable, then, as derived either from comedies of the *véa* still undiscovered, or as introduced and increased in number and in relative importance independently by Plautus, after he had learned the methods of the *véa*.

There is one other possibility, that of the derivation of deception from the Atellana. The connection between Plautus and the Atellana has been discussed by Leo,³⁵ especially for the Casina, in which vv.902-914 resemble Pomponius v.57 R, v.67 R, which deal with masquerading. Deception in the form of personation, therefore, was present in the Atellana; cf, also two citations from Pomponius and Novius, who though later than Plautus may reproduce in literary form

³⁴ cf. the Hero and Perikéiromene; Leo: Röm. Lit. I p.102f.

³⁵ Die Plautinischen Cantica, pp.104ff.

the earlier unwritten farces:³⁶ Pomponius, *Sarcularia*,³⁷

Alter amat potat prodigit, patrem suppilat semper

which may imply some such schemes for stealing money from the *patrem* as the *adulescentes* and *servi* of Plautus indulge in,³⁸ since *suppilare*, according to Nonius 13, 1 means *involare vel rapere, a pilorum raptu*; Novius, *Decuma* II³⁹

Me non vocabit; ob eam rem hanc feci fallam

in which according to Nonius 109, 19 *fallam* is used for *fallaciam*. But since the *Atellana* in its literary form is later than the *palliata*, it is quite possible that these resemblances are due to the influence of the latter, and not to independent tradition from the preliterate *Atellana*.

The presence, therefore, of so many details of the Plautine technique of deception in the Greek also,—tragedy, Old and New Comedy, admits of the possibility of the adoption of them by Plautus from any or all Greek forerunners, but does not prove such adoption. Whether Plautus was a translator and adapter, after the pattern set

³⁶ cf. Ribbeck: *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, 1897.

³⁷ Ibid. p.301.

³⁸ Ibid. p.310.

³⁹ But the line applies better to ordinary pilfering, cf. *suppilare* in the *Menaechmi*.

by Naevius, as Leo argues,⁴⁰ his creative genius shaping merely the dialogue and not the plot of the comedies,⁴¹ "which in their carefully worked out intrigue merely follow the type characteristic of the New Comedy, or whether Plautus subordinated the literary Attic form to the burlesque, mirth-making sketches of Roman daily life and intermingled with them features from the Samnite folk-drama, which in their Roman-Italian atmosphere display that closeness to Aristophanes which Cicero felt"⁴² it is impossible to decide. But it is evident, considering the predominance of trickery in all the comedies of Plautus and its subordination or entire absence in all the available Greek sources, as has been seen, that Plautus makes trickery the chief interest in his plots, regardless of its relative unimportance in his originals.

The present investigation of these originals has proved that the plot of trickery did not come *in toto* from them as can be judged from the extant fragments. To the objection which may be raised that Plautus may have selected from the hundreds of Greek plays at his disposal those which made this element prominent, we can only say that the non-existence of such plays at present makes the proof of that assertion impossible. In view of the thousands of Greek fragments the

⁴⁰ Röm. Lit. pp.103ff.

⁴¹ Leo: Plaut. Forsch. p.101; p.165.

⁴² Clc. de off. I 104, quoted by Leo: Röm. Lit. pp.136f.

argument *ex silentio* seems strong. From the Greek he certainly adapted to his own use, varying them to suit his mood and his anticipation of the humour of his audience, love scenes, toilet scenes, dialogues between slaves, parasites and cooks, banquet scenes and the like, as the outer structure barely covering the evident framework beneath.⁴³ Plautus' method in this choice and his arrangement of the various features has been shown in the analyses,—the fact that trickery, as a plot, can be traced throughout most of the plays, discarding such incidental scenes as serve merely as the outer padding. The poet's art, as Leo intimates,⁴⁴ is manifest in his success in making the action, with the addition of these extraneous scenes, poetically and theatrically probable.

His failure to do so in all cases, as illustrated by the plays in which threads of trickery are dropped, is attributable to the playwright's concentration upon the plot of deception and his disregard for minor details. Except in the *Epidicus*, which offers the greatest obscurities in plot, the resulting inconsistencies are not vital to the progress of the trickery. In general the discrepancies are such as would probably pass unnoticed in a single rendering of a play before an audience whose object was merely to be entertained. We can believe that Plautus worked merely to meet that demand⁴⁵ and so led on the

⁴³ Leo: *Plaut. Forsch.* p.210.

⁴⁴ *Röm. Lit.* p.105.

⁴⁵ Leo: *Röm. Lit.* p.109.

action in his plays from one amusing incident to the next, interspersing scenes borrowed from Greek comedy with farcical elements in the form of deception and the like, and joining past, present and future action as coherently as it might be found in everyday happenings. Many things of the day prevent the accomplishment of plans of the past and necessitate entirely divergent plans for the future. Comedy is and always will be a "picture of life." The inconsistencies of life must necessarily be mirrored in the copy. The psycholological improbabilities which Langen reiterates so frequently could often be brought as an accusation against the everyday course of human events. Moreover, many of the inconsistencies in the Latin comedies already occur in the Greek models.⁴⁶ No sequence of logical premise and conclusion controls with fixed rule the actions of the puppets which play upon the stage of life. Why demand such logical sequence then in the actions of the pretenders at life on the stage of comedy?

To the Romans the machinations of a slave were just as interesting as to their ancestors the wiles of Ulysses or of Sinon.⁴⁷ Plautus combined in his comedies,⁴⁸ as has already been stated, the literary Attic form and plot with details and customs of Roman daily life, and stands forth as the connecting link between the New

⁴⁶ Legrand: *Daos*, pp.399, 407, 409.

⁴⁷ Legrand: *Daos*, p.401.

⁴⁸ Leo: *Röm. Lit.* p.140.

Comedy and the world literature of modern times.⁴⁹ Plautus' creative genius appears in the way in which he met the demands of the *vis comica*.⁵⁰ Without violating in too open a fashion the reality of rôles and situations, he performed the full duty of the dramatist⁵¹ of making his audience understand the events which took place, in their due relations, and of amusing and entertaining them.

49 Ibid. p.149.

50 Leo: Plaut. Forsch. p.101.

51 Legrand: Daos, p.490.

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VITA

I, Helen Emma Wieand Cole, was born in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, on April 16, 1885. My parents were the Reverend Charles S. and Leonore M. Wieand. My preliminary education was begun in the public schools of Pottstown, where I was graduated from the High School in June, 1901, and was completed at Blair Presbyterian Academy, Blairstown, New Jersey. My undergraduate work was done at Mount Holyoke College, from which institution I was graduated in June, 1906, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In June 1908, I received the degree of Master of Arts from the same institution, upon the recommendation of Bryn Mawr College, for a year of graduate work in the departments of Latin and Archaeology. For the year 1907-08 and the following year, 1908-09, I held a graduate scholarship awarded by Bryn Mawr College, in the departments of Latin and Archaeology. My graduate work was completed at Bryn Mawr College in the years 1915-17, during the second year of which I was the holder of the '86 Fellowship for Graduate Study from Mount Holyoke College.

The years between 1909 and 1915 were spent for the most part in teaching. In 1906-07, I was instructor in Latin in Cox College, College Park, Georgia. The year 1909-1910 I taught Latin and German in the High School of Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. From 1911-15, I was at Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, for the first two years as instructor in Greek and History of Art, for the last two as Assistant-professor of Latin and head of the department. In 1915-16, while pursuing my graduate work at Bryn Mawr I was assistant in Latin in Miss Wright's School, Bryn Mawr. On August 22, 1917, I was married to Samuel Valentine Cole, D. D., LL. D., president of Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

This thesis was presented as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in February, 1918.

My graduate work at Bryn Mawr College has been done under the direction of Professor Arthur L. Wheeler and Professor Tenney Frank, in the department of Latin, and Professor Caroline L. Ransom in the department of Archaeology. To them I wish to acknowledge here my gratitude for their encouragement and inspiring assistance. To Professor Wheeler especially, under whose direction this dissertation was written, I wish to express my gratitude for his helpful suggestions and kindly consideration, both in connection with the writing of the dissertation

and throughout my entire graduate course. To Professor Rhys Carpenter, of the department of Archaeology, who gave me my final examinations in that department, and to Dr. T. deC. Ruth, who had Professor Frank's place, during the latter's leave of absence in the last year of my graduate work, I wish also to express my thanks for their assistance.

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